

INSIDE: PHOTO PORTFOLIO OF THE WAR

Newsweek

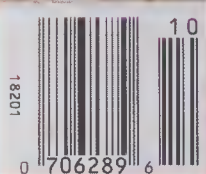
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VICTORY!

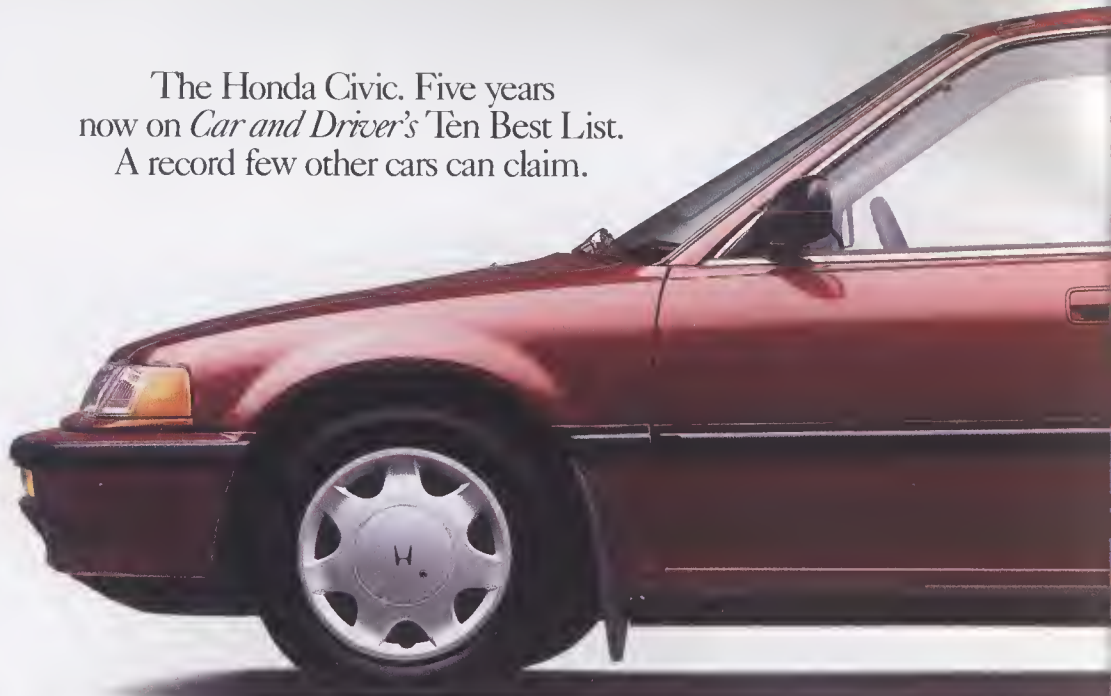
**SPECIAL
ISSUE**

**And What
Comes
Next**

Gen. H. Norman
Schwarzkopf



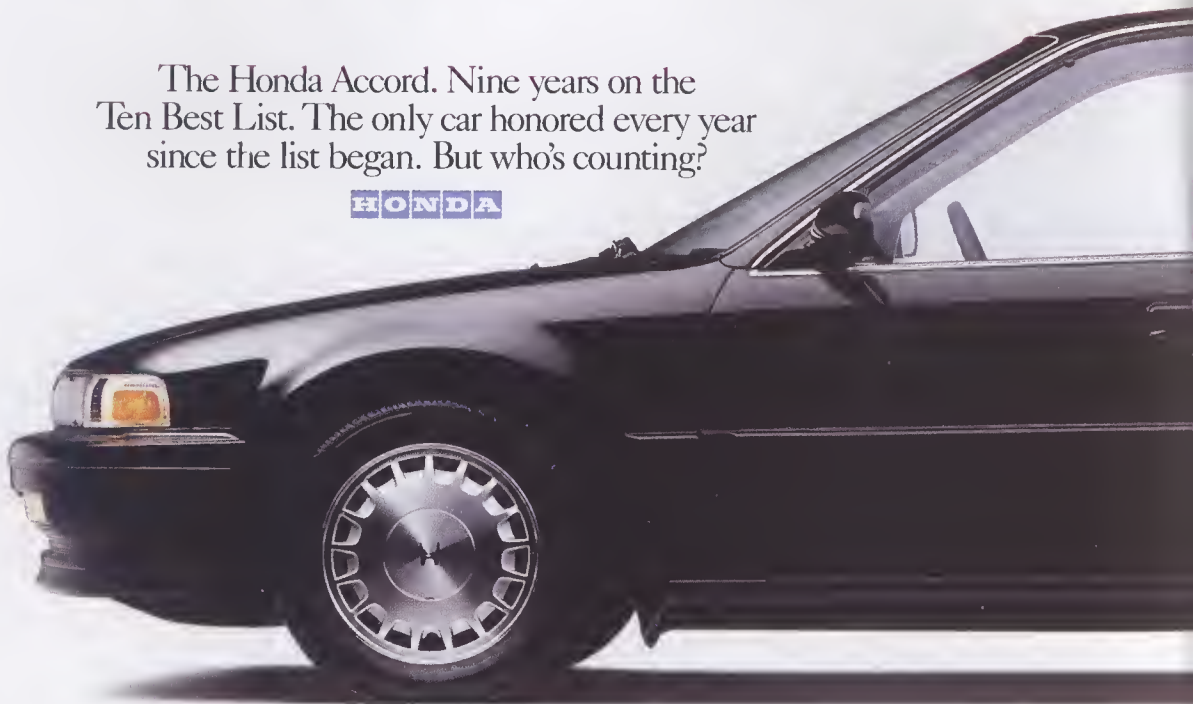
The Honda Civic. Five years
now on *Car and Driver's* Ten Best List.
A record few other cars can claim.



The year

The Honda Accord. Nine years on the
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since the list began. But who's counting?

HONDA





s add up.



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Iraqi soldiers in southern Kuwait surrendered to the allied forces by the thousands

Storming to Victory



Schwarzkopf's moment of triumph

After only 100 hours of ground war, but with the battered Iraqi Army in full retreat, George Bush called a halt to the fighting. The swiftness of the victory surprised even the allies and testified to the generalship of Desert Storm commander H. Norman Schwarzkopf and the morale and training of his troops. **Page 20**

THE WAR
DESERT VICTORY

THE WAR
HOME FRONT

The lightning success of Operation Desert Storm produced a national wave of euphoria and pushed public support for the uniformed services to a 15-year peak. The armed forces' triumph also highlighted the expanding opportunities for African-Americans in the all-volunteer military. **Page 50**



82nd Airborne troops going to war

The victory in the gulf transformed the world's view of America. But winning the peace in the Middle East still loomed as a diplomatic challenge for Washington. To avoid the next crisis, there were lessons to be learned from the mistakes that made Saddam Hussein's invasion possible. **Page 58**

THE WAR
LOOKING AHEAD



Jubilation at Fort Meade, Md.

Letters to the Editor should be sent to NEWSWEEK, 444 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022, and subscription inquiries to NEWSWEEK, The NEWSWEEK Building, Livingston, N.J. 07039. NEWSWEEK (ISSN 0028-9804), March 11, 1991, Volume CXVII, No. 10, is published weekly except for two additional issues during the months of May and September, \$41.08 a year, by NEWSWEEK, Inc., 444 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022. Second Class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTERS: Send address changes to NEWSWEEK, The NEWSWEEK Building, Livingston, N.J. 07039.

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Cover: Photo by Jacques Langevin—Sygma.

NEWSWEEK's Troops in the Persian Gulf

In order to cover the full story of the Persian Gulf conflict, NEWSWEEK deployed a large—and experienced—team to the region; eight correspondents were in the area at various times. The “Gulf Crew,” as they came to be known, included Cairo bureau chief Ray Wilkinson, New York bureau chief Tony Clifton, General Editor C. S. Manegold, Paris bureau chief Christopher Dickey and Miami correspondent Peter Katel. The staffers on point in Washington, covering the diplomatic and military aspects of the war, were correspondents Douglas Waller and John Barry. Even for veteran war correspondents, the gulf conflict could be highly dramatic. “Taking part in a full-scale armored assault was a truly awesome experience,” says Wilkinson, who has covered 21 wars, including Vietnam. “And it was sheer exhilaration to watch an entire nation become deliriously happy when the Kuwaitis were finally liberated.”

Lending a unique perspective to the magazine's war coverage was retired Army Col. David Hackworth. “Hack,” as he is called, is America's most decorated living soldier, with 110 medals. At 15, he lied about his age and joined the Army, eventually serving in both Korea and Vietnam. However, he retired from the Army in 1971 after complaining about how the military was mismanaging the war. Hackworth later moved to Australia, became a successful businessman and wrote the 1989 best seller “About Face,” which dealt with his countless military experiences. He now splits his time between homes in Australia and Montana. As the gulf war came to a close last week, Hackworth reflected on the conflict:

On the war: Before the fighting began, I talked to one American military officer who was quite an expert on desert warfare. I asked him what he thought and he said, “We will just whip the snot out of them [the Iraqis].” And he was so right. A line was drawn in the sand with such precision and competence by General Schwarzkopf. Seldom is there such compliance with the eight principles of warfare. This war couldn't possibly have failed.

On covering the conflict: This was my first assignment as a reporter, and I found it wonderful in that I had more freedom. As a commander I was stuck at a post. As a reporter I got a better overview. But I was very unhappy with the military's paranoia

and their thought police who control the press. Although I managed to go out on my own, we didn't have the freedom of movement to make an independent assessment of what the military is all about. Everything was spoon-fed. We were like animals in a zoo and the press officers were like zookeepers who threw us a piece of meat occasionally. On the other hand, there were a lot of irresponsible, unprepared people in the press who used the power of the press for their own little trip.

On the dangers of the job: There were five dangers there. There was the danger of being killed by Iraqis. Second, there was the danger of being killed going to the field because you had to travel a long

way over narrow roads that are used not only by you but also by Arabs who go as fast as they can go without realizing they're driving a life-and-death bomb. Third, you had U.S. Army 19-year-olds driving flat-bed trailers loaded with 65-ton tanks and playing chicken on the road. The fourth danger was the U.S. Army itself. If you were like I was—not going through press pools or the military thought police—you were subject to arrest. Returning from a Special Forces unit one day, [NEWSWEEK photographer] Mark Peters took a picture through the car window and U.S. troops fixed bayonets and charged us. I had more guns pointed at me by Americans or Saudis who were into controlling the press than in all my years of actual combat.

On modern warfare: I'm opposed to war. There are no winners. This is even more clear now that the destructive capability of weaponry is so total and weapons are so smart. War is no longer limited to the combatants, but threatens all of humankind. If we don't destroy ourselves with firepower and environmental damage, there's a very good chance we could destroy ourselves economically by the incredibly high cost of war.

On how this war compares with Vietnam: In Vietnam, we were in the wrong war fighting the wrong enemy using the wrong tactics with the wrong strategy. Since we didn't understand the nature of the war, we were defeated. But I find myself in conflict over this war. Yes, if we had allowed the blockade to stand, it would have eventually brought down Saddam. But it would have taken a long time. It's a shame that it had to occur. It's a shame that a great number of innocents—and I mean military and civilians on both sides—have had to bear the cost of the tragedy.



First assignment: ‘Hack’ (right) in the gulf with a U.S. soldier



Wilkinson



Katel



Dickey



Clifton



Manegold



Barry



Waller



1892 WAS A VERY GOOD YEAR FOR COFFEE

¶ It was a time when those in the coffee business did things a little differently.

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¶ 1892™ Slow-Roasted Coffee. A labor of love...from The Maxwell House® Coffee Company.



RESISTANCE

How Iran Helped the Resistance

The ad hoc resistance movement that sprang up in Kuwait immediately after the Iraqi invasion soon received technical help from Shiite sympathizers in Iran. Within 15 days of the invasion, Iranian agents showed up to instruct young Kuwaiti Shiites, who for the most part had no military experience, in the use of explosives—including C4 plastic and TNT. "Iran sent six people in the first two weeks to teach us how to do it," a member of the Kuwaiti underground said. "They did a good job for us."

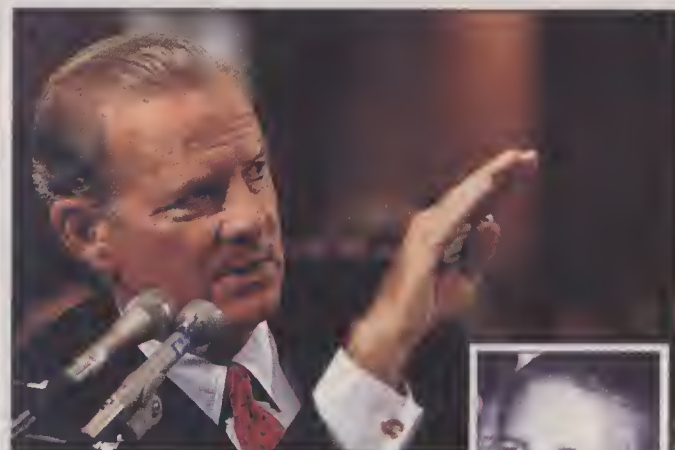
Much of the resistance effort, the source says, was centered in the largely Shiite neighborhood of Rumaithiya in Kuwait City. The nucleus of one group was a cell of five young men who had studied in the United States. One, an Army officer, helped the group obtain assault rifles, pistols and rocket-propelled grenades from military stockpiles.

With the assistance of Iranian operatives, Kuwaiti guerrillas blew up an Iraqi military camp in a suburb of Kuwait City. A resistance group also attacked a school that had been converted into an Iraqi barracks and anti-aircraft artillery post. ■

HEARTTHROB

Bad News for Arthur Kent

Move over, Arthur Kent. TV's fickle-hearted female viewers have found a new heartthrob. He's jovial Col. Ahmad bin Mohammad al-Robayan, the Saudis' military briefer in Riyadh. Al-Robayan received so many calls from enamored Saudi women that his wife had their phone number changed shortly after he took the briefing slot. Last week al-Robayan even received a two-page letter from a smitten fan in Bakersfield, Calif. Handsome British Group Capt. Niall Irving has his share of admir-



Investigations: Baker, Glaspie

EXCLUSIVE

Grilling Baker

NEWSWEEK has learned that at least three congressional committees are gearing up to grill Secretary of State James Baker on his role in the "codling" of Saddam Hussein up to the eve of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. Hill Democrats blame Baker for "the major failure of foreign policy" that they say made Operation Desert Storm necessary. "The trail's going to reach Baker," says a Senate staffer. "Either he knew and approved the policy, or he was asleep at the switch."

A key witness at the hearings will likely be U.S. Ambassador to Iraq April Glaspie, who said she was carrying out Baker's instructions when she

told Saddam just days before the invasion that the United States had no interest in "Arab-Arab conflicts." Since then Glaspie has been kept "under wraps" by State. House staffers predict the Intelligence or Government Operations Committee may be forced to subpoena her.

In private, Glaspie has complained she's been made the scapegoat for Baker's mistakes. But a Senate staffer says she "doesn't get off the hook." In her conversation with Saddam, Glaspie apologized for a tough interview by ABC-TV's Diane Sawyer. "That was clearly on her own and totally inappropriate for an ambassador," says the staffer. Baker has said he knew nothing of the specific diplomatic instructions to Glaspie. ■

MISSILES

Something for the mantel: Last year's popular souvenir was a chunk of the Berlin wall. This year it's a piece of a Scud or a Patriot missile from the Saudi Arabian desert. Some American soldiers are telling their families that they've been retrieving the missile fragments to bring back home as mementos of the war. Other GIs, whose platoon leaders wouldn't let them collect the missile parts, have taken photographs instead. ■



Mash notes and a pen set: Irving

TERRORISM

A Network Failure

American intelligence officials suspect that Saddam Hussein has lost control of his terror network. The air war severely damaged Baghdad's military-communications system—which may have been used to coordinate terror attacks. When he re-established communications, U.S. officials say, Iraqi-linked groups may have refused Saddam's calls, sensing that he was a loser. Western officials have also heard that some terrorists, including the Palestine Liberation Front's Abul Abbas, have fled Baghdad. U.S. officials believe "Palestinian groups may be asking, 'Why waste our assets on Saddam?'"



Abbas

LUCY HOWARD and NED ZEMAN
with bureau reports

WASHINGTON FAX

Growing

Memo to the Democrats: As you might have guessed, the Republican National Committee's opposition-research team is keeping tabs on what was said about the Persian Gulf conflict by potential Democratic presidential contenders, especially New York Gov. Mario Cuomo. RNC staffers are crowing over what they call "the appeasement tape," which confirms remarks by Cuomo last November urging Bush to "negotiate our way out" of the crisis. "You could negotiate something that gets [the Iraqis] out of Kuwait... leaves them maybe a little bit on the water... a little bit of oil..." he told a Los Angeles group.

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After all, the CW never claimed to be right, only certain of itself. Without missing a beat, CW shapers have dusted themselves off and climbed back on their hobbyhorses again.



Arafat

Conventional Wisdom

SHIFTING SANDS

| | | |
|---------------------|---|---|
| CNN |  | Too many weird amateurs. Big Three polish and experience finally pay off. |
| CBS |  | Some scoops help recoup, but teary Dan is still Rather strange. |
| NBC |  | Correspondents drown in dumb pool rules. Hey, guys, the story's that-a-way. |
| ABC |  | Quality sells. Peter stayed home, and Ted and Sam should have. |
| Peter Arnett |  | Fiancée, book contract. "Baghdad Betsv" Aaron makes him look patriotic. |

Clear crystal balls: Les Aspin, Richard Perle, Fouad Ajami. **Cloudy crystal balls:** Edward Luttwak, William Crowe, Judith Kipper.



Ultra lights smokers:

Can you get at least
50% less tar and nicotine
and still get
flavor in a cigarette?



5 mg. tar
0.5 mg. nic.

5 mg. tar
0.5 mg. nic.

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5 mg. tar
0.5 mg. nic.

5 mg. tar
0.5 mg. nic.

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Based on a comparison of selected national brands.

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SURGEON GENERAL'S WARNING: Smoking Causes Lung Cancer, Heart Disease, Emphysema, And May Complicate Pregnancy.

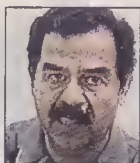
Conventional Wisdom

In the gulf war the CW suffered its worst debacle since the 1988 election. The landscape is strewn with horribly wrong predictions. Oh, well. Never apologize, never explain.

After all, the CW never claimed to be right, only certain of itself. Without missing a beat, CW shapers have dusted themselves off and climbed back on their hobbyhorses again.



Bush



Saddam



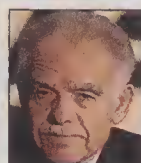
Gorbachev



Arnett



Schwarzkopf



Shamir



Kent



Arafat

LEADERS

Conventional Wisdom

| | | |
|----------------|---|--|
| George Bush | ↑ | Master of all he surveys. Look on my polls, ye Democrats, and despair. |
| Saddam Hussein | ↓ | Hitler? Try Custer. A monster, a madman, but most of all a moron. |
| N. Schwarzkopf | ↑ | Five stars ain't enough. While you're at it, why don't you save the banks? |
| M. Gorbachev | ↓ | Give back your Nobel, Comrade Backstabber. P.S. Your tanks stink. |

Dan Quayle

Toshiki Kaifu

Yasir Arafat

Queen Elizabeth

Yitzhak Shamir

ENDGAME

Kuwaiti Elite

United Nations

U.S. Troops

Bechtel

Peace Parley

Terrorism

MEDIA

CNN

CBS

NBC

ABC

Peter Arnett

| | |
|---|---|
| ↔ | Some scoops help recoup, but teary Dan is still Rather strange. |
| ↓ | Correspondents drown in dumb pool rules. Hey, guys, the story's that-a-way. |
| ↑ | Quality sells. Peter stayed home, and Ted and Sam should have. |
| ↑ | Fiancée, book contract. "Baghdad Betsy" Aaron makes him look patriotic. |

MEDIA (CONT.)

Conventional Wisdom

| | | |
|------------------|---|---|
| Bob McKeown | ↔ | Into Kuwait City first, but too pleased with himself to do much reporting. |
| Forrest Sawyer | ↑ | Into K.C. second, but Marathon Man found where bodies were buried. |
| Arthur Kent | ↓ | Scud Stud is pool fool. You need more than good looks to elude checkpoints. |
| Military Pundits | ↓ | Ya, ya they predicted the flank but... |

h6927

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BIRTHDATE (Required) MO / OA / YR SEX: ☐ M ☐ F TELEPHONE () _____

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CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP CODE (Required) _____

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... frequently was rather weary.

Old CW: War will destabilize Mideast.

New CW: War will stabilize Mideast.

Old CW: Bush is a twig in the wind.

New CW: Bush is a mighty oak.

Clear crystal balls: Les Aspin, Richard Perle, Fouad Ajami. Cloudy crystal balls: Edward Luttwak, William Crowe, Judith Kipper.



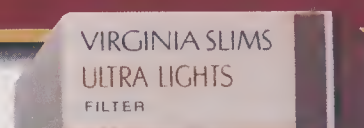
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and still get
flavor in a cigarette?

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you can.



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5 mg. tar
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5 mg. tar
0.5 mg. nic.



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0.4 mg. nic.



5 mg. tar
0.5 mg. nic.



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The lowest in tar and nicotine.

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SURGEON GENERAL'S WARNING: Smoking Causes Lung Cancer, Heart Disease, Emphysema, And May Complicate Pregnancy.

Why reforming our liability America is to succeed

EXCESSIVE LIABILITY AWARDS MAKE IT TOUGH FOR U.S. COMPANIES TO COMPETE.

We are a compassionate society. We want to compensate those who have suffered.

But when our courts expand the traditional concepts of liability, causing defendants to pay excessive compensation, we add to the costs we all pay for goods and services. We encourage companies to stop research and development on new products. And we even make it harder for American companies to compete overseas.

PAYING A HIDDEN TAX.

In reality, the American system of liability has become the source of a hidden tax on our economy—a tax that can account for as much as 50% of the price paid for a product.

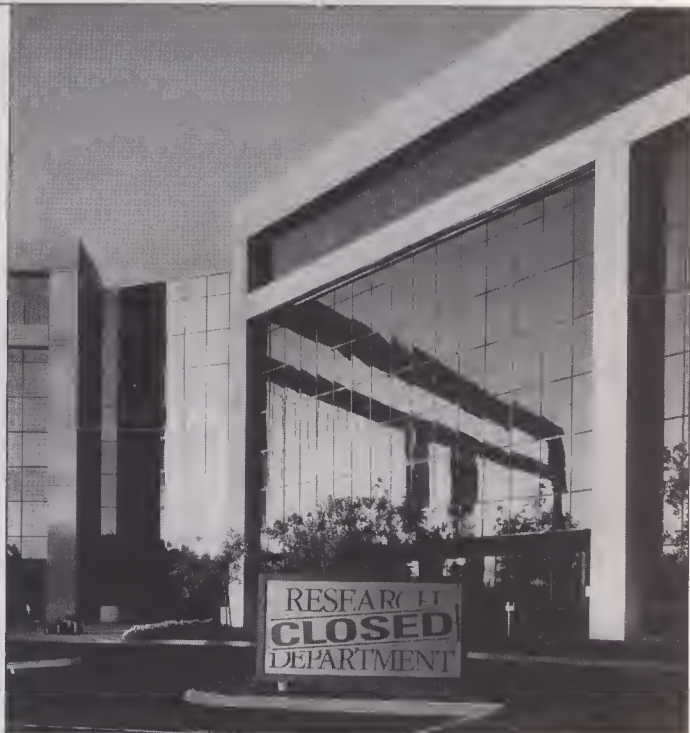
What's worse, it has been estimated that this hidden tax amounts to \$80 billion a year—a sum equal to the combined profits of the nation's 200 largest corporations.

Our economic competitors' legal systems do not encourage litigation to the extent we do. Consider, for example, that there are 30 times more lawsuits per capita in the U.S. than in Japan.

Is it any wonder that America is having a tough time competing in overseas markets?

UNCERTAINTY STIFLES ENTERPRISE.

The unpredictability of our liability system is also enormously costly to American competitiveness. For example, in a recent survey of CEOs, the Conference Board found that worry about potential liability lawsuits caused 47% of firms surveyed to discontinue one or more product lines. What's more, 25% stopped certain product research and development, and 39% decided



against coming out with a new product. Meanwhile, our overseas competitors continue to research and develop new products at an ever-increasing pace.

ARE WE CONTROLLING RISKS OR INCREASING THEM?

When we give a drunk driver the right to sue an automaker or highway engineer for a million dollars after a crash, are we controlling risk?

Or just encouraging risky and careless behavior?

If you are a manufacturer, you can be sued even if your product has state-of-the-art safety features. Even if your customer misused it against your instructions. Even if the risks of misuse were obvious.

When fear of lawsuits causes physicians to limit

Liability system is essential if in overseas markets.

services to patients—or worse, to abandon their practice altogether—lack of adequate treatment means greater risks for everyone.

Is this controlling risk or increasing it?

It's an unhealthy and dangerous situation that needs correcting.

WE MUST REFORM OUR "DEEP POCKETS" APPROACH TO LIABILITY.

Specifically, we need to change our approach and base liability suits on fault.

Our current system often encourages the frivolous suing of those with the ability to pay—in other words, those with "deep pockets." But does it make sense to hold such parties entirely liable, even if they were only minimally at fault?

A MORE RATIONAL APPROACH.

Those who suffer economic losses because of another's negligence should be fairly reimbursed. No one could argue with this principle. There should also be just compensation for pain and suffering resulting from real and severe injuries.

But can we afford to continue a system that encourages litigation and financial judgments bearing little direct relationship to fault or to the actual cost of injuries suffered?

Clearly, a better approach is needed.

CONGRESS HAS A ROLE.

Legislation providing a uniform product liability standard would allow American companies to compete without the burdens of excessive liability risks. And this would unclog the courts and put American business in a stronger position as barriers to international trade and investment fall.

There is proposed legislation before Congress

dealing with these issues. A solution to the liability crisis is vital to American competitiveness, and Congress can play a role in restoring the right balance.

SO DO THE COURTS.

When all is said and done, our courts are the interpreters of our laws and our values. It's our values as a society that count, especially as reflected in the courts and individual jury decisions.

Together our legislative and judicial branches must recognize the damage being done to American competitiveness from the current liability system. And help America restore the proper balance.

WHY IS AIG RUNNING ADS LIKE THIS?

AIG (American International Group) is the largest underwriter of commercial and industrial insurance in America, and the leading U.S.-based international insurance organization.

Since we deal every day with issues affecting the future of the world economy, it's understandable that we champion reform designed to strengthen the competitive stance of American business in global markets.

Perhaps you'll want to keep the ball rolling by contacting your elected officials—judges and legislators—with your own views.

Or if you prefer, write Mr. M.R. Greenberg, Chairman, AIG, 70 Pine Street, New York, NY 10270.

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and financial services.

The Hardware Debate

I was appalled by the headline on the cover of your Feb. 18 issue, "High-Tech Hardware: How Many Lives Can It Save?" Military hardware is designed not to save lives but to end them ever more efficiently. It did not save the lives of the 11 Marines killed during the early days of the war by "friendly fire," for instance, nor did it save the lives of the hundreds of Iraqi civilians killed inside their Baghdad air-raid shelter. Your suggestion that new weaponry can save lives sounds like Orwellian doublespeak, not responsible reporting.

JED ELA
Madison, Wis.

...

The president's vow to seek justice for war crimes after this war is won should not stop with Saddam Hussein ("To the Victors Go the Trials," DESERT STORM, Feb. 4). The allies in the gulf should name the rest of his cabal—particularly the troop commanders who allowed their soldiers to rape, torture and pillage their way through occupied Kuwait. Expose them now, lest we inherit a new regime in Iraq propped up by war criminals.

DAVID HANDY
Guelph, Ontario

...

NEWSWEEK's Feb. 18 "Weapons of War" pullout section was in unbelievably bad taste. Presenting the instruments of death in the form of a wall decoration is deplorable. While information about the war is necessary, the poster format lends itself to the worship of "glamorous" military hardware, thus encouraging ignorance of war's true brutality.

JOSHUA KERSHEN
SCOTT LIEBERTZ
Notre Dame, Ind.

...

As a teacher and the mother of two Marines stationed in the gulf, I found your poster highly informative. I plan to share it with my students and my support group.

BARBARA MITCHELL
Moneta, Va.

...

Col. David H. Hackworth writes in "The Faceoff in the Desert" (DESERT STORM, Feb. 18) that the Persian Gulf War "will liberate the American people from the ghosts of Vietnam, from the humiliation that began to melt away on Jan. 16." On the contrary, the ghosts are back to haunt us and the humiliation is renewed. It's a sad, bored, morally wanting nation that needs a war to galvanize it and provide it with the unity Hackworth claims the war has brought us. A lot of innocent people—young, naive

MAIL CALL

Patriotism

Since the Persian Gulf War began, a constant theme in letters from readers has been patriotism. Here is a typical example

from the mail as the war drew to a close: "I only hope this same fervor Americans are exhibiting will carry over in other ways" now that peace is near. While many readers were enthusiastic about patriotism, a substantial number thought our coverage bordered on glorification of the war. For example, there were complaints about "Weapons of War," the Feb. 18 special pullout detailing gulf weaponry. One reader said the magazine should start offering Desert Storm trading cards. "Or," he added, "perhaps you should just stick to the news."



ones like our troops—are paying for that "unity." As Nietzsche said, "Whoever fights monsters should see to it that in the process he does not become a monster."

NANCY BELL SCOTT
Scarborough, Maine

...

Not all troops in the Vietnam War agreed with the purpose for which they were asked to fight. They fought because they had sworn to obey the orders of the president of the United States. The same is true of troops now serving in the gulf. But at least this time they are being supported, respected and loved by the majority of the people of the United States.

GEORGE S. KULAS
Sergeant Major, USA (Ret.)
Fond du Lac, Wis.

...

Hackworth's characterization of our war with Iraq as an "act of national redemption" for the Vietnam War is a disservice to those involved in either conflict. Sacrificing another generation of Americans will not offset the fact that we lost in Vietnam. It simply compounds the tragedy by indicating that we have not learned from our mistakes. As a Vietnam veteran, I feel no humiliation for having served, and I will hardly feel redeemed by a win this time.

BRIAN R. WALRATH
Chagrin Falls, Ohio

NEWSWEEK's report that "four out of five Americans back Bush's conduct of the war" ("The President's 'Spin' Patrol," DESERT STORM, Feb. 11) is hardly surprising. Given the Pentagon's heavy-handed censorship and the administration's blatant manipulation of the media, the president has gotten exactly what he was aiming for: a lemminglike endorsement from the electorate.

JIM FRITZ
Aurora, Colo.

Justifying War

"Ancient Theory and Modern War" represents the origins of the just-war ethic as "essentially religious, usually Christian," highlighting Saint Augustine's theology (HOME FRONT, Feb. 11). Yet the article ignores the first three centuries of Christian practice—which was to reject military service as incompatible with Jesus' teachings. Augustine's doctrine of the just war has proven impotent, at any rate, to ensure strictly just wars. Instead, it has served as a convenient ethical gloss on bloody violence. Constantine anticipated its propaganda value when he had his soldiers march under the cross. Christian Europe, of course, gave the world the gift of the Crusades. One can only wonder how history might have turned out if the church had remained true to pre-Augustinian practice.

DANIEL BORN
Union City, N.J.

...

If not theory, then common sense dictates that any nation (or nations) adopting the banner of just war should not share complicity in creating the conditions of war. But for years the United States and its allies supplied weapons, materials and technology to Saddam Hussein's military. And, only days before his invasion of Kuwait, our State Department signaled to Saddam that the United States would not come to the Kuwaitis' defense if Iraq invaded. Given this history, the U.S.-led coalition can hardly claim to be prosecuting a just war.

T. ALLEN LAMBERT
Ithaca, N.Y.

...

You suggest that just-war doctrine was born when Augustine "sought to reconcile the Christian commandment to 'love your neighbor as yourself' with the soldier's duty to kill." Yet "Love your neighbor as yourself" is neither original to Christianity nor altogether distinctive to it. Jesus was merely quoting from the Old Testament book of Leviticus (19:18). What is uniquely Christian is Jesus' commandment to "love your enemies . . . Do good to them that hate you.

Resist not evil. If any man will take away your coat, let him have your cloak too." If Augustine can reconcile war with that, he's not merely a theologian—he's a magician.

HARRY RUJA
La Mesa, Calif.

Living by the Sword

The law of war is a two-edged sword. Under the argument that Eric L. Chase advances to justify killing Saddam Hussein ("Should We Kill Saddam?" MY TURN, Feb. 18), an Iraqi operative who killed the president of the United States could just as logically claim that George Bush, as "commander in chief of all [U.S.] forces, is a legitimate target for any form of military action his enemy elects to take, whether he is killed on the battlefield or in his bathtub."

RALPH H. BROCK
Lubbock, Texas

Clearing the Air

Your Feb. 25 "Perspectives" column featured a quote from Vice President Quayle ("I love California. I grew up in Phoenix.") that implied he was ignorant of Southwest geography. A tape transcript reveals that the vice president actually said, "I love California. I grew up in Phoenix, Arizona. A lot of people forget that." Quayle was discussing his interest in, and affinity for, the West. NEWSWEEK made no effort to check the completeness or accuracy of the truncated quote before printing it. Indeed, you have printed similarly misleading items about the vice president in the past. Your continued negligence verges on journalistic dishonesty.

DAVID C. BECKWITH
Assistant to the Vice President
and Press Secretary
Washington, D.C.

Correction

"Into the Breach" (DESERT STORM, March 4), a NEWSWEEK Poll reporting Americans' opinions on the gulf coalition's war aims and the Soviets' diplomatic efforts, contained an error. Our figures represented the percentage of Americans who agreed—not (as we said) who disagreed—with the various statements. Twenty-nine percent of participants agreed, then, that if Saddam Hussein were to withdraw from Kuwait but remain in power in Iraq, that would be a victory for U.S. and allied forces; 28 percent agreed that allied military attacks had already eliminated the military threat Iraq had posed to the Persian Gulf area; and 51 percent agreed that the Soviet Union was playing a positive role in seeking an end to the hostilities. NEWSWEEK apologizes for the error.

Language Lessons

Your report on the record number of immigrant children in American schools points up the need for more trained teachers of English as a second language (ESL) across the country ("Classrooms of Babel," EDUCATION, Feb. 11). Knowing how to teach nonnative children is a skill that requires training and experience. Yet in nearly half the states in this country, teachers are not required to have training in multicultural/multilanguage teaching. Even when school administrators bow to the need for ESL, they often regard it as a peripheral aspect of the curriculum, applicable to just a few students. In fact, the demand for qualified ESL teachers has been growing—and will probably continue to grow.

SALLY HINRICH
ESL Instructor
Beaverton, Ore.

All the money wasted on bilingual education should be used to teach English to all schoolchildren. The way schools make exceptions for different groups of kids, it's no wonder young people grow up with resentments. For generations people came to the United States without any knowledge of English. Federal and state money was not used to teach them in Norwegian, German, Polish, etc. They and their children not only made it but prospered without any governmental programs.

LEONARDA WROBLEWSKI-RAJTAR
St. Paul, Minn.

Your readers might be interested to learn that a federally funded program called Computer Education for Language Learning (CELL) is making big strides in teaching English to immigrant children. The program is designed to improve English sentence-building and vocabulary skills among students with limited English proficiency. By providing a tutorial learning environment, it encourages students to take risks they might not take in a classroom, while boosting their computer literacy—and therefore their status with their classmates.

JAMES V. EDMUNDSON
Longboat Key, Fla.

In "Classrooms of Babel," you cite former teacher Rosalie Pedalino Porter arguing that bilingual programs for Spanish-speaking students haven't worked. The clearest indication of these programs' failure, she charges, is the high dropout rate for Hispanic children. Porter must not be aware that more than 75 percent of Hispanic children never participate in a bilin-

gual program. Students who *have* had the chance, in fact, have a very low dropout rate. If more Hispanics were offered bilingual education, their dropout statistics, I believe, would plummet.

JOHN PONCIANO
Holland, Mich.

Aren't we worrying too much about teaching immigrants English and not enough about our own heritage, students, teachers and schools? Furnishing non-native children with some type of head start in English before they enter school should be enough. Our schools and teachers should not have to bear the burden—not to mention the expense.

RUTH E. HARRIS
Key West, Fla.

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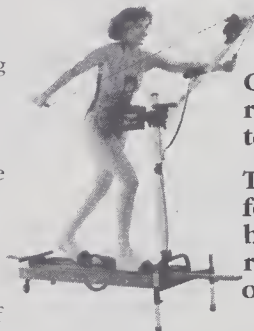
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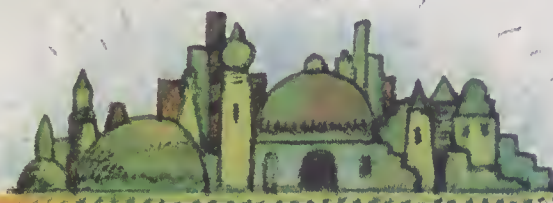
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Overheard

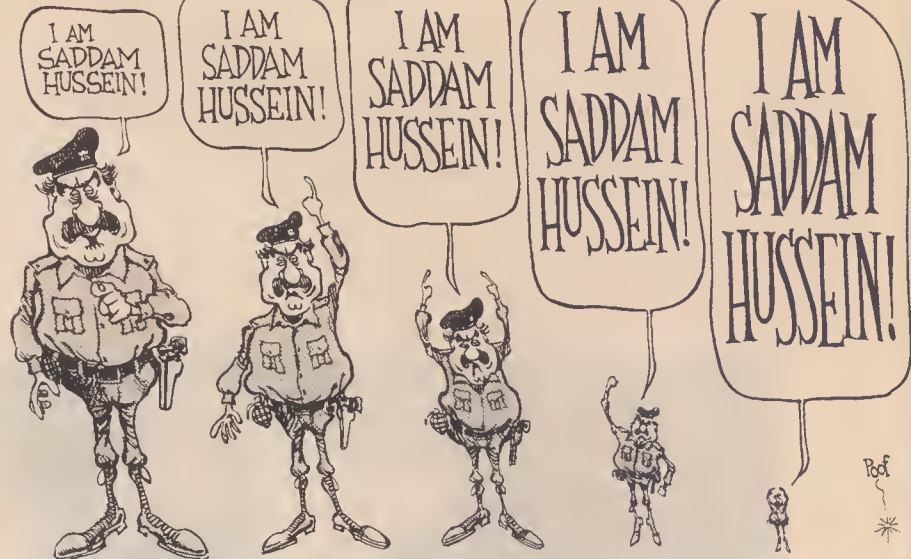
He is neither a strategist, nor is he schooled in the operational art, nor is he a tactician, nor is he a general, nor is he a soldier. Other than that, he's a great military man."

Gen. NORMAN SCHWARZKOPF,
on Saddam Hussein

I hate to say it, but once we got rolling it was like a training exercise with live people running around. Our training exercises are a lot harder."

Capt. KELVIN DAVIS, after
American troops captured
Kuwait City

Bill Day



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The Incredible Shrinking Man



© 1991 BRIAN BASSETT—SEATTLE TIMES

Instead [of having] four maids or three maids in the house, you can have two maids."

Kuwaiti State Minister for Cabinet Affairs
ABDEL RAHMAN AL-AWADI, on how
Kuwaitis might improve their society

There's nothing to this. It's like a nature hike. They jump up like squirrels to surrender."

An American soldier, on Iraqi forces, soon
after the ground attack began

I've been kissed by more men than I can count."

CBS reporter BOB MCKEOWN, standing among
Kuwaitis after the liberation
of Kuwait City

If someone is invaded and they need help, we're the 911 of the world."

KAREN HALL, mother of Lance Cpl. Henry Kolk,
a Marine stationed on the USS Trenton

If we did, it would most likely be in the division of liquidation."

ALAN WHITNEY, spokesman for the Federal Deposit Insurance
Corporation, on whether the FDIC will have a job opening
for Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf after the war

Saddam Hussein is the father of the mother of all clichés."

CHARLES OSGOOD, on the Iraqi leader



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Newsweek

DESERT VICTORY

**A hellish, hundred-hour
ground war destroys
Saddam's fighting machine**







After rolling over Iraqi forces, U.S. troops celebrate their arrival in the outskirts of Kuwait City

KEN JARECKE—DOD POOL, PHILIPPE WOJAZER—REUTER



A Swift Surrender

For the first time since World War II, triumphant Americans liberated an occupied nation like swashbuckling storybook heroes—and the United States rejoiced in its military might. Allied troops took Iraqi prisoners almost at will in the swift ground war that freed Kuwait.

Coalition troops flushed frightened Iraqi forces out of the desert sand and sent them to crowded POW camps





MARK PETERS FOR NEWSWEEK, CHARLES PLATIAU—DOD POOL





Exorcising Demons

After 43 days of fighting and winning, America's troops exorcised the ghosts of Vietnam. U.S. soldiers came away looking like crack troops led by genius-generals Powell and Schwarzkopf. The pain of combat remained, but there was newfound glory for those who endured it.

An injured soldier weeps for a dead friend
DAVID TURNLEY—DOD POOL





GARY KIEFFER FOR NEWSWEEK; SADAYUKI MIKAMI—DOD POOL

Triumph and Devastation

Saddam Hussein's pathetic claims of victory were drowned out by Kuwaiti cheers and allied firepower. The multinational forces pounded furiously on the fleeing Iraqis in the war's final hours. A new world order seemed possible, providing America is as wise in victory as it was in battle.

Kuwaitis rejoice as the war winds down, but an Iraqi convoy could not leave their capital fast enough

After the Storm

Mission accomplished. Next: How much should Iraq pay? How to keep the peace?

George Bush knew it was over. For weeks he decreed no end to the war until Saddam Hussein waved a white flag for all the world to see. The Iraqi dictator had to "personally and publicly" accept all 12 of the United Nations resolutions passed against him, admitting that he had been wrong to invade Kuwait and acknowledging that he and his Army were beaten. By last Wednesday, Saddam continued to

shriek his defiance, even claiming "victory" over the allied attackers. But only four days into the ground war, Iraq's Army was so thoroughly whipped that continuing the campaign might have seemed cruel or vengeful. Bush decided not to wait for an explicit surrender. He would declare victory himself and offer a truce. "I'd like to do it tonight," he told his advisers.

The land war came to an end after exactly 100 hours; a White House official noticed

the round number coming up at midnight Wednesday, and the temporary cease-fire was set to begin then. Operation Desert Storm, which started just six weeks before with the launching of the air war, produced a stunning victory for Bush, a triumph of almost Biblical proportions—his enemy slain in countless numbers, his own soldiers hardly touched by the battlefield's scouring wind. His standing in the polls soared to even higher levels; the latest



ZOHRAB—SYGMA

Saddam conceded nothing even as U.S. Marines mopped up



NEWSWEEK survey gave him an 89 percent approval rating.

But success left Bush feeling a little blue. On Friday, when a reporter noted at a news conference that the president seemed "somber," Bush conceded that he didn't yet share "this wonderful euphoric feeling" that had swept up so many of his countrymen. He recalled World War II, the first great crusade of his life. "There was a definitive end to that conflict," he said. But in the Persian Gulf War, "we have Saddam still there, the man that wreaked this havoc upon his neighbors. We have our prisoners still held. We have people unaccounted for." Once all that was straightened out, there would be time for good feelings. "I'll get there," said the president.

What gnawed at Bush was the fact that he had a "little bit of an unfinished agenda" in the gulf. At the United Nations, diplo-

THE WAR DESERT VICTORY

mats hammered out the conditions for a formal end to the conflict. But the allied commander, Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, still had to meet in the desert with Iraqi officers early this week to settle the details of a permanent cease-fire, including an exchange of prisoners. Secretary of State James Baker planned to tour the Middle East this week—including his first visit to Israel since taking office—to discuss long-term issues, notably how to secure a lasting peace in the region and what to do about the Palestinian problem. More immediately, difficult decisions had to be made about how extensively Iraq should be punished for its invasion of Kuwait and for the atrocities it committed there.

And by Saturday there was still no word from Saddam himself accepting the U.N. resolutions or acknowledging that his war machine had been crushed between the

grindstones of allied warplanes and ground forces. There was a report, denied all round, that he might flee to exile in Algeria. There were unconfirmed stories of anti-Saddam unrest in Baghdad and in Basra, Iraq's second city. The allies were eager to see Saddam go; they hinted that Iraq's punishment would be gentler and its recovery quicker if he were replaced. But an alternative to Saddam's discredited regime had not yet emerged. Despite the talk about war-crimes trials and reparations, the allies decided not to demand Saddam's arrest or downfall. "His own people can deal with him," said Prince Khalid bin Sultan, the Saudi Arabian military commander. A senior administration official concluded: "It's realistic to think he will find some way to stay, just as he always has. We would be more surprised if he left."

Saddam's forces began to disintegrate as soon as the allied ground offensive began. By last Tuesday, U.S. troops reached the



TODD BUCHANAN—DOD POOL

Euphrates River, trapping Iraq's armor in the Kuwaiti theater. American and British forces began to chew up the elite Republican Guard. Other allied units took Kuwait City, and when the occupiers fled in tanks and trucks and stolen cars, they were massacred on the highway. The Iraqis got lucky only once, when an off-course Scud missile slammed into a barracks in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, killing 28 American reservists, including three female soldiers.

Muddled message: By then, Baghdad was sending conciliatory messages. Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz offered to comply with one of the U.N. resolutions, then with three of them, insisting that the others be dropped. That was unacceptable to the allies. It wasn't clear what the Iraqis were up to. Aziz, a Christian with little clout in Iraqi politics, could have been freelancing. And his messages lost clarity because the destruction of Iraq's infrastructure required the communications to pass through Soviet hands on their way to the United Nations. Aziz's first letter was written in Arabic, translated into Russian and then into English. When the Americans showed it to an Iraqi delegate at the United Nations, he had it translated back into Arabic and found that its meaning had been warped, as if in some giddy parlor game.

By midday on Wednesday, Washington time, the end was in sight. With Pentagon approval, Schwarzkopf gave a masterly press briefing in Riyadh, explaining the allies' strategy and sketching out the scope of their victory. "We've accomplished our mission," he said. Bush met with his advisers

U.S. Battle Deaths

By any measure, the low rate of American casualties in the war was, as General Schwarzkopf said, "almost miraculous."

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SOURCE: U.S. GOVERNMENT

and was told, at around 2:30 p.m., that in another eight to 10 hours, the final battles with the Republican Guard would be over. "By tonight, there won't really be an enemy there," Gen. Colin Powell, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, was quoted as telling the president. When should the fighting be suspended? "If you go on another day," Powell said, "you're basically just fighting stragglers."

Saddam had not yet been heard from, but Bush's men concluded that they had him in a corner. They would not wait for his public acceptance of the U.N. resolutions. "The rout of the [Iraqi] Army was so fast and so cataclysmic that it was no longer necessary," said a senior administration official.

Bush alerted the allies and then went on television to announce the temporary cease-fire. He had timed his moment wisely. "It was a marvelous piece of statecraft," said an allied diplomat, Mohammed Wahby of Egypt. "President Bush knew the job was done. If he kept on after that, it might smack of vengefulness, and that would cause repercussions in the Arab world."

Boot-kissing: The shock was just setting in. At the United Nations, Muslim journalists were stunned when television pictures showed Iraqi POWs kissing the boots of an American officer. "That is wrong," said an Iranian correspondent. "That is a position that should be reserved for Allah—not even for a prophet." Most Iraqis still seemed oblivious to the full extent of their military defeat. But they were all too well aware that their country—one of the more advanced in the Arab world before the invasion of Kuwait—had been bombed back into the pre-oil era. In Baghdad, the electricity was out, and the public water supply, what there was of it, was turning foul. "The spread of epidemics like cholera and typhoid could force people to leave their homes," warned Mayor Khalid Abdel-Munem Rashid. Conditions were equally bad in the south. "Basra is in chaos right now," said a U.S. military source in Riyadh. "There seems to be a real breakdown in civil control of the populace there."

American intelligence sources said Saddam had three planes standing by at a military airfield near Baghdad, apparently to fly him out of the country if the need arose. The influential French daily *Le*



PATRICK DOWNS—DOD POOL

In a defeat of almost Biblical proportions, Iraqi prisoners of war are marched away by Task Force Ripper of the First Marine Division

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In any case, the allies were not going to let the Iraqis off easily. When he announced the cease-fire, Bush gave them 48 hours to agree to a meeting of military commanders to discuss allied terms for a permanent cease-fire. Iraq accepted within 20 hours. "Somebody



White Plains, N.Y. "I would be delighted to prosecute these charges," he says. "I'd win them, hands down." But there may be few war-crimes trials—possibly none at all. Few high-ranking Iraqis have been captured; smaller fry would have to take the rap for them. And if the allies hold Iraqis for trial, Baghdad may retaliate by detaining allied pilots and other POWs on war-crime charges. So far, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia want Iraqi wrongdoers to stand trial; other allies, such as Egypt, do not. Secretary Baker will try to sort out the problem during his trip to the region this week.

■ **How much Iraq should pay:** After World War I, Germany was required to pay reparations of \$32 billion. It actually paid out only \$5 billion, but even that caused economic hardship. The resulting resentment contributed to the rise of Adolf Hitler. Exacting reparations for the gulf war might also be counter-

productive. "We want to make sure we don't wind up destroying Iraq in the process," says political scientist Joseph Nye of MIT. "The debt to the people and governments could range up to \$100 billion, driving the total national debt to several hundred billion dollars. Against that debt, the real source of revenue is oil, which yielded \$14.5 billion a year already has a foreign debt of \$100 billion. It has vast damage of infrastructure, and it may take years to rebuild."

Some say it's important to get Iraq to agree that the principle of accepting guilt is important. "To accept the guilt," says a diplomat, "and they must accept it. But making them pay? That's another matter." In the end, Iraq is required to pay off part of its debt with an agreed-upon percentage of its oil revenues. Precisely how much will be forgiven depends on how quickly Saddam passes from the scene.

"The last thing we'd want to do is cripple a new government," says a U.S. official. After suffering the mother of all defeats, Saddam still has a grip on Iraq's future, if only as a force for misery.

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ed admission of guilt—and must be prepared to pay reparations and return stolen property. And it reaffirmed all 12 previous resolutions, including those that imposed economic sanctions on Iraq.

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In any case, the allies were not going to let the Iraqis off easily. When he announced the cease-fire, Bush gave them 48 hours to agree to a meeting of military commanders to discuss allied terms for a permanent cease-fire. Iraq accepted within 20 hours. "Somebody there knows how badly they've been beaten and how vulnerable they are, and is essentially saluting, at least up to this stage, when we tell them they need to do something," said a U.S. official. The meeting, which was scheduled for last Saturday and then moved to Sunday because the Iraqis weren't ready, was to deal with practical matters, such as the exchange of prisoners and the location of mines that Iraq had planted in Kuwait and the gulf. "It is not a negotiation," said Brig. Gen. Richard Neal, a spokesman for Schwarzkopf's Central Command. "It's a meeting."

At the United Nations, Washington prevailed on a new Security Council resolution. Principally because of anxieties among the Chinese and the Soviets, the United States did not insist on a statement explicitly authorizing the allies to resume military action if Iraq failed to comply with U.N. terms. Instead, the measure invoked Resolution 678, which authorized force in the first place. The rest of the new resolution was unrelentingly tough on Iraq. It said Baghdad must specifically "rescind" its annexation of Kuwait—the long-awaited admission of guilt—and must be prepared to pay reparations and return stolen property. And it reaffirmed all 12 previous resolutions, including those that imposed economic sanctions on Iraq.

That left several tough issues to be resolved in the weeks ahead. Among them:

■ **How to keep the peace:** At least some Western forces will remain on the ground in the region for months to come. But the allies



GARY KIEFFER FOR NEWSWEEK

In a victory dance, a Kuwaiti smashes the dictator's portrait

will be anxious not to create the impression that they mean to stay. Instead, Washington wants a small tripwire force to be put into place by the Arabs or the United Nations, supplemented by pre-positioned equipment. Among other things, it isn't clear whether the peacekeeping force would be stationed in Iraq or Kuwait.

■ **When to lift the sanctions:** Washington wants to retain the U.N. arms embargo indefinitely. Economic sanctions are another matter, but the decision on revoking them depends on whether Saddam remains in power, and for how long. "We can use [sanctions] in two ways—to moderate Saddam's behavior and to convince the Iraqi people or the Iraqi military that they'd be better off with a different leader," says a State Department official. Even if Saddam stays on indefinitely, sanctions on food and medicine are likely to be lifted quickly. But there will be trade-offs in other areas, notably Iraqi oil sales and imports of civilian technology. If Baghdad wants those restrictions lifted, it might have to pay reparations, reduce the size of its Army or promise not to develop certain weapons.

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Harvard. Iraq's debt to the people and government of Kuwait could range up to \$100 billion. Other governments and companies could demand repayment of their losses, and so could Palestinians and other foreign workers in Kuwait, driving the total amount of claimed reparations to several hundred billion dollars. Against that debt, Iraq has only one real source of revenue: its oil production, which yielded \$14.5 billion in 1989. Yet Iraq already has a foreign debt of at least \$75 billion. It has vast damage of its own to repair, and it may take years to resume full oil production.

The allies seem to agree that the principle of reparations is important. "To accept the idea means to accept the guilt," says a senior Arab diplomat, "and they must accept the guilt. But making them pay? That's another matter." In the end, Iraq will probably be required to pay off part of its debt, perhaps with an agreed-upon portion of its oil revenues. Precisely how much of the reparations will be forgiven depends in part on how quickly Saddam passes from the scene. "The last thing we'd want to do is cripple a new government," says a U.S. official. After suffering the mother of all defeats, Saddam still has a grip on Iraq's future, if only as a force for misery.

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The Rewards of Leadership

Bush's war role earns him the nation's gratitude

There were so many chances to blow it. He could have dithered when the Iraqis first invaded. He could have led the country into an anguishing new hostage crisis. He could have allowed Saddam to slip away through a messy compromise. But at each turn, George Bush remained steadfast. He did not let Congress get the better of him, or the Soviets, or Saddam—or his own worst instincts. At the most critical moments, he did not permit himself to meander or waffle or stumble. The more muddled the circumstances, the clearer he seemed to be.

Faithful to his upbringing, Bush told the American people that winning is not the time "to gloat." He didn't want to allow himself a feeling of personal exultation. But he could hardly be blamed for declaring victory over an even bigger bogeyman than Saddam. "By God, we've kicked the Vietnam syndrome once and for all!" he exclaimed to a group of state legislators at the White House. The remark was unscripted—a brief burst of spontaneous joy at the end of his prepared remarks.

To a nation oppressed by the sense of decline, jaded by two decades of failed presidencies and political scandal, Bush's performance seemed like deliverance. Even more so because it was unexpected, coming from a man who had been widely dismissed as a wimp and a lapdog. To the American people today, the W word is "winner."

Certainly the Democrats think so. They eye the president's record-breaking approval rating—89 percent in the latest NEWSWEEK Poll—and wonder if they will ever see the inside of the White House again. There was a flurry of excitement last week in Democratic circles when party elder Robert Strauss called a council of veteran campaign operatives. Was it to map a political counterattack? To announce or anoint a new challenger? Well, not quite. Strauss wanted some help thinking up jokes for the annual Gridiron Dinner.

Perhaps Bush has always been underestimated. True, there were always the images of young George as a prep-school Lochinvar, the teenage naval aviator, his plane in flames, boring in to deliver his bombs. But a more enduring political image is of Bush trying, by small



WALLY McNAMEE—NEWSWEEK

In the Rose Garden with Vice President Dan Quayle

THE WAR DESERT VICTORY

tinny sounds, to placate the Republican right. Less well known are the examples of Bush showing fortitude behind the scenes. It was Bush whose coolness restored calm to the White House in March 1981 when Ronald Reagan was shot and Secretary of State Alexander Haig bizarrely declared, "I am in control." Self-exiled to passive veepdom for the rest of Reagan's two terms, he seemed politically finished by a third-place showing in the Iowa caucuses in 1988. But he counterpunched (some would say rabbit-punched) to the nomination and then to the presidency.

Bush spent his first months in office quietly but surely showing that he was not Ronald Reagan. He came to work at 7 a.m.; he did not fall asleep in meetings; he remembered names and facts. He met with the press so often they grew tired of it. Along the way, he established a comfort level with the American people that would prove useful when the

crisis came. The chattering classes may have doubted Bush, but the public believed in his leadership skills over the last six months, and they were rewarded.

Bush is now urged to use his immense political capital to push through some kind of New American Order at home. "If LBJ had won this victory, he would have doubled the War on Poverty," said Harry McPherson, a lawyer and adviser to Lyndon Johnson. "If Ronald Reagan had won it, he would have cut back the role of government more. Bush could do gutsy stuff." In all likelihood, however, he won't. He doesn't believe the country's problems are susceptible to easy or quick political solutions. His approach is pragmatic, in a country-club Republican sort of way. Some problems, like the recession, will cure themselves. Others, like the poor, are always with us. His more cynical political advisers are just thinking about re-election. Their plan is, not surprisingly, to blame Congress. "If the Democratic Congress would just move out of the way, we could get some major things done," grouched a senior Bush adviser. Like what? he was asked. The adviser paused. "We're working on that," he said.

Limits of power: Bush will have plenty of opportunity to show leadership in his preferred arena, foreign policy. War in the

Middle East may have created a sudden chance for peace, if the Arabs and Israelis can see their way clear of tedious enmity. But the region has been a graveyard of diplomacy. The collapse of the Soviet Union could pose problems that even General Schwarzkopf couldn't solve. The next two years are far more likely to produce mushy compromises or paralysis than quick and clean military victories. Americans will soon enough relearn the limits of power. Already, pundits are warning against incipient "triumphalism."

Washington will no doubt return to normal. Briefly chastened, the press will carp again, the leakers will leak, the special interests will continue to slice up the pie. The nation's problems will be addressed only fitfully and sometimes wrongly. But for a moment last week, the nattering and knifing stopped, replaced by a kind of awed surprise—and gratitude.

ANN MCDANIEL and EVAN THOMAS with
HOWARD FINEMAN in Washington

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A Soldier of Conscience

Stormin' Norman becomes the hero the country has longed for since Vietnam



GREG GIBSON—AP

A field commander with a philosophy based on regard for the arts of war and respect for the lives of ordinary soldiers

In the days after victory, the general kept waking up thinking he was back in August. Across the border in Kuwait, Saddam Hussein was leering at him, Saudi Arabia was wide open to attack, his own troops were hopelessly outnumbered. And his orders were to clean up the mess without taking too many casualties. The general knew that given time America had the power to defeat Iraq. That wasn't what bothered him. What bothered him was that he didn't want to live the rest of his life with the thought, "There's Norm Schwarzkopf, the Butcher of Baghdad," a commander who got 100,000 Americans killed with chemical weapons because of his stupid planning. "I like to think of myself as a man of conscience," he told *NEWSWEEK*. In war, questions of generalship often sort badly with matters of principle. And the question most important to

him was "knowing whether or not I can live with myself."

Did George Patton think that way? Did Rambo? Forget it. But Stormin' Norman Schwarzkopf does, and it has made him the military hero the United States has yearned for ever since Vietnam. Briefing the country on television last week, he stood 6 feet 3 in his desert fatigues, a Combat Infantryman's Badge and paratrooper's wings on his barrel chest, four stars on his rumpled collar. He talked morals and character along with strategy and tactics, the just cause as well as the will to power. At 56, and 240 pounds, he looked like a fatherly meatpacker, a dangerous man to annoy; but he came across as a warrior with a soul, not a dour martinet like William Westmoreland or a media slicker like Alex-

ander Haig. Outfoxing Saddam, he'd kept allied casualties during a Normandy-scale invasion to fewer than those from one bad week in Vietnam. "He'd make a great candidate for president," said Stephen Ambrose, the historian. "He's our first victorious general since MacArthur and Ike."

In the euphoria of the moment, such comparisons were inevitable, if a bit extravagant: Grenada, Schwarzkopf's last zone of battle, was hardly the Philippines, and Iraq wasn't the Third Reich. But the country badly needed a victory and he had delivered it, playing Omar Bradley, the soldier's soldier of World War II, to Colin Powell's Eisenhower. He did have a flaw or two, including a hair-trigger temper and a thin skin for bad reviews. An old paratrooper's injury gave him chronic

**THE WAR
DESERT
VICTORY**

back pain, and until he closed with Saddam, there were those who wondered whether someone leaner and younger might have been better fit to command. What they forgot was his 170 IQ, his three Silver Stars for valor and his reputation for risking his own life to help soldiers in danger of losing theirs. Taking over CentCom two years ago, he whipped a Sleepy Hollow headquarters into fighting trim. The Middle East was his area of operations. He believed this theater would produce the next war. Saddam obliged him.

His assets: Schwarzkopf may have the gut of a middle linebacker, but he has a quarterback's brain. On an office wall map in Riyadh, he plotted the deepening and hardening of the Saddam line. When he saw that the dictator wasn't extending his defenses westward, he drew a line through the Wadi al-Batin down to Hafar al-Batin and said, "That's it." Then he went out there. Poking the desert with his foot, he discovered that it could support trucks as well as tanks and he got to work deploying his assets. Saddam might have hurt him by using chemical weapons to choke off the supply port of Dhahran. Three Iraqi fighters could have made junk of the planes jammed nose to tail on the airfield at Riyadh. Night after night Schwarzkopf badgered Air Force Lt. Gen. Charles Horner ("They can't get through... You're *guaranteeing* me that, right?"). The day the air war began and Saddam lost control of the skies, he thought with relief, "We've got them."

The conviction sprang from Schwarzkopf's certainty that Saddam could no longer escape, not from his love for rival services. In Schwarzkopf's briefing, he praised Horner, the Marines, the Special Forces, allies and just about everyone else involved in whipping Saddam; but he remained Army Green right down to his combat boots. He had counted on planes to maul Saddam's defenses, play hell with his command-and-control network, savage his Air Force and artillery, neutralize his chemical weaponry. But he knew air power alone could not win the war. Part of the problem was tactical, part political. At the back of his mind he wondered, "How long would the world stand by and watch the United States pound the living hell out of Iraq without saying, 'Wait a minute—enough is enough.'" He itched to send ground troops to finish the job.

His deeper concern was to reverse the damage Vietnam had done to the Army's morale and the country's self-esteem. After serving two tours in that quagmire, he emerged with scars to

OPINION WATCH

Riding a Hero's High

What's your overall opinion of the following (percent saying favorable)?

- 93%** Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf
- 86%** Gen. Colin Powell
- 87%** Dick Cheney
- 84%** James Baker

For this NEWSWEEK Poll, The Gallup Organization interviewed a national sample of 769 adults by telephone March 1, 1991. The margin of error is plus or minus 4 percentage points. Some "Don't Know" and other responses not shown. The NEWSWEEK Poll © 1991 by NEWSWEEK, Inc.

match his war medals. He told C.D.B. Bryan, author of "Friendly Fire," that after he came home as a lieutenant colonel in 1970, it shook him to find Americans spitting on soldiers as napalm addicts and baby burners. According to Bryan's account in *The New Republic*, Schwarzkopf thought for a time he would quit, retreat to the woods. One day when his sister Sally defended the peace movement, he blew up and threw her out of his house. Then, to his amazement, he burst into tears. For years he didn't know whether he had Vietnam out of his system. He knew one thing: if it ever came to a choice between compromising his moral principles and performing his duties, he would resign his commission, hang up his uniform and go with his principles.

As field commander in the gulf, Schwarzkopf replaced the phased escalation of the Vietnam era with a single, overwhelming

application of force. Between August and March, he passed a number of milestones: the meeting after Iraq invaded Kuwait when Saudi Arabia's King Fahd said to him, "Come"; the successful defense that pinned Saddam down; the recognition that the only way to get him out of Kuwait was to eject him; the decision to begin the air campaign. Then there was Saddam's forlorn attack on Khafji, when he began to think, "We are going to kick this guy's tail." The moment Saddam's highly vaunted Fifth Division came under fire, it broke and surrendered en masse. Saddam might have a 700,000-man Army, but when Schwarzkopf

looked at what it could do, he thought, "This was a lousy outfit. Lousy." At that moment, his own troops were honed to perfection—and ready for the kill.

Schwarzkopf's military philosophy turns on his regard for the arts of war and his respect for the lives of ordinary soldiers. When a reporter asked him what he thought of Saddam's leadership, he said, "Hah." Ticking off his contempt on the fingers of his left hand, he noted that Saddam was "neither a strategist, nor is he schooled in the operational art, nor is he a tactician, nor is he a general, nor is he a soldier." Having run out of fingers, he said, "Other than that, he is a great military man." Schwarzkopf was disgusted with Saddam's elite Republican Guard. They were better trained, better paid, better fed, and, "Oh, by the way, stationed well to the rear so they could be the first ones to bug out," while

ordinary soldiers who had been lied to, badly equipped and fed were left to bear the brunt of the allied assault. To keep his men in the trenches, Saddam had sent execution squads into Kuwait. "I gotta tell you," Schwarzkopf said, "a soldier doesn't fight very hard for a leader who is going to shoot him on a whim."

Plays and prayers: The general's media blitz lifted a news blackout that had darkened relations between the military and the media. Jabbing a red-tipped pointer at his color-coded maps, talking lucidly, quickly ("Next chart, please"), he disposed of Saddam as easily on the air as he had done on the field of battle. He didn't gloat, and he spoke English, not militarese. Explaining his surprise flanking attack, he said, "Once we had taken out his eyes, we did

Five-Star Generals?

The gulf war's brightest stars may soon rise even higher. Last week there was new speculation that Gens. H. Norman Schwarzkopf and Colin Powell, Joint Chiefs chairman, would add a fifth star to the constellation on their epaulets. Since the rank was created in 1944, only World War II heroes have been so honored: George C. Marshall, Douglas MacArthur, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Henry H. Arnold and Omar N. Bradley. No one has been accorded the rank since Bradley's promotion in 1950.



UPI—BETTMANN

Gen. Douglas MacArthur

what can best be described as the Hail Mary play in football”: the receivers went down one side of the field, the quarterback lobbed the ball and everyone prayed. He talked up the righteousness of the mission; and he showed compassion for the dead and wounded. The small number of casualties had been a miracle, he said. “But it will never be miraculous for the families of those people.” And he called the deaths by friendly fire “a terrible tragedy.”

Other military briefers had ham-handedly sparred with reporters; Schwarzkopf juggled toughness with humor. Someone asked him if the allied advance to within 100 miles of Baghdad might have encouraged Saddam to think the coalition was going all the way. “I wouldn’t have minded at all,” he said, adding, “Frankly, I don’t think they ever knew [we] were there until

the door had already been closed on them.”

Schwarzkopf has great physical courage; armchair tacticians irritate him. His mouth pursed tightly when a reporter asked if Iraqi fortifications might have been less formidable than everyone had been led to believe. “Have you ever been in a minefield?” he snapped. Well, no, the reporter replied. Schwarzkopf won his third Silver Star for inching across a minefield in Vietnam to lead a panic-stricken company to safety. Three of his men were killed and one had a leg blown off when they triggered a mine as they tried to cut a splint for a wounded comrade. When asked if a cease-fire would keep him from completing his job, he said, “We’ve accomplished our mission. When the decision makers come to the decision that there should be a cease-fire, nobody will be happier than me.”

If anything, peace should find Schwarzkopf more than ever in demand. The Wall Street Journal sent a reporter out to look into his future and found entrepreneurs of every corporate stripe eager to offer him jobs in the \$300,000 to \$1 million-a-year bracket, seven-figure book advances, college presidencies. With 35 years on active duty, he faces mandatory retirement next summer. But four-star generals serve at the pleasure of the president, and gossip at the Pentagon now touts him as successor to Gen. Carl Vuono as Army chief of staff or supreme commander of NATO forces in Europe. Whatever he does, he won’t just fade away. As a grateful President Bush put it last week, Stormin’ Norman has become big enough to do anything he wants to do.

TOM MATHEWS with C. S. MANEGOLD in Riyadh and THOMAS M. DEFRANK in Washington

Schwarzkopf: ‘I Got a Lot of Guff’

After the allied victory, Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf reflected on the war with NEWSWEEK’s C. S. Manegold and a correspondent from Time. Excerpts:

On planning the ground war: Colin Powell and I understood very early on that a strategic bombing campaign in and of itself had never ever won a war ... We were talking ground options in August. He and I were. And I think he was discussing them in the broadest terms with the president. In one of my first briefings to the president we discussed ejecting Iraq from Kuwait and I gave the president absolutely terrible advice because I told him at that time to do the job I thought we needed about five times more force than I ended up getting. I told him it would probably take seven to eight months longer than it took to do the job.

On why the air campaign succeeded: In the past one of the mistakes I think the Air Force has always recognized it made in Vietnam is that the strategic air campaign was planned back in Washington. And it was a very touchy thing with the Air Force guys ... The guys that were going to be required to execute this plan felt

very strongly that they should be the ones to make the plan. ... The Air Force [in Washington] jumped right in and came up with a very rudimentary essence of what started out to be the campaign plan. Very quickly [Air Force Lt. Gen.] Chuck Horner made it clear to me that this was not the desired way of doing it, and we took the skeletal plan that was started in Washington and I shifted the whole thing over here ... By the middle of

October, early November, we had a completely robust strategic air campaign that was very executable right down to a gnat’s eyelash.

On his deception plan: I got to tell you, when I insisted on this deception plan with a lot of my commanders, I got a lot of guff. OK. They thought that Schwarzkopf had lost his mind ... When the commanders came over here, what they would have wanted to do was

to get off the boat, move all of their forces up to where they were going to start from and make it one simple, easy move ... And when this crazy guy said to them I’m not going to let you move out there. You’re only going to move here, and you’re going to set up there, and then we’re going to start the air campaign and only then are you going to go—swoosh—way the hell out there and all your supplies are going to go out there and everything else, and I’m sure they thought Schwarzkopf’s lost his mind ... They fought me all the way.

On his strategy: I never really thought of it in terms of, boy, let me think what sexy thing I can come up with ... I thought about this plan every waking and sleeping moment. I would get up every morning and say, let’s go back and review the plan. There were some days when I got up and would say, Oh, it’s never going to work and we’re going to lose everybody. And there were other days when I got up and would say it’s looking pretty good but what else can I do, what else can we modify, what else can we change? ... But there comes a point where ... you can overdo that ... You say, OK, that’s it. It’s frozen. I’m not going to change another damn thing. We are going to go with what we’ve got now.

Schwarzkopf (left) helping a paratrooper in Vietnam, 1965





True Colors Of Friendship

The United States of America has shown unwavering friendship through its resolve to uphold the principles of the United Nations and secure justice over the fate of Kuwait.

The men and women of the U.S. Forces in the Gulf have played a vital role in coming to the aid of a small nation at the mercy of a ruthless and vicious neighbor.

For this generous response, in the true

spirit of freedom, the people of Kuwait are profoundly grateful to every single one of you.

When the time came the people of America have proved to be true friends of a nation in desperate need.

We thank you.



From the People of Kuwait

Kuwait: Rape of a Nation

Iraq looted the country as a matter of policy

The stories of rape, torture and murder coming out of Kuwait read like an anthology of Iraqi insanity. But there was a logic at work: Iraq's occupation forces intended to erase the conquered nation's identity, and they meant to do it fast. Blotting out the word "Kuwait" on road signs was one tactic; ripping off the fingernails of people displaying the emir's picture was another. At one point the Iraqis brought a new mother before captured Kuwaiti resistance fighters and stripped her naked. "Here is the milk of Kuwait," they taunted. "Drink it." Eventually the Iraqis dumped the woman back home, alive. It was enough to humiliate the essence of the Kuwaiti spirit.

A bullet through the mouth or the back of the head was in some cases the kindest Iraqi punishment. The bodies regularly unloaded at Kuwait City's four major medical centers included victims with ax wounds, holes drilled through their kneecaps or intestines inflated with air. At Mubarak Hospital, the country's largest, doctors received victims burned by acid, with ears cut off and eyes gouged out. Torturers beat one woman, shot her three times in the chest and neatly sawed off her skull, exposing her brain. A gynecologist at the hospital, accused of poisoning Iraqi soldiers, had his fingernails torn out and his body burned with cigarettes before death. "They are psychopaths," Kalid Shalawi, acting chief of the hospital's medical section, told *The Washington Post*. Allied legal teams began the difficult job of compiling the full record from families who had tried to stay out of sight. "It was hell, it was horrible," said Seham al-Mutwaa, nursing director at Mubarak. "We were like rats in a trap, hiding while they stole and killed and raped."

The Iraqi terror was selective to some extent. The elite Republican Guard who spearheaded the invasion behaved with professional soldiers' discipline. Torture centers sprang up under the control of 7,000 agents of Iraq's Mukhabarat ("information gatherers"), who saved their most severe methods for resistance suspects. The worst brutality came early in the occupation. The Iraqis killed so many young

men, Kuwaiti Maj. Abdulrahman Hadhood told the *Post*, that bodies were taken to a skating rink for short-term preservation. As the Iraqis sensed the war turning against them, they seemed to become more cautious. "They wouldn't come into the houses anymore," said Mrs. Suad al-Musal-lam in Kuwait City. "We could already see defeat in their eyes." Then in the final week the Iraqis abducted Kuwaiti hostages—5,000 by most preliminary estimates—possibly to use as bargaining chips in negotiations with the allies.

Random violence was not the absolute rule. Kuwaiti doctors, for example, denied rumors that in the first weeks of occupation the Iraqis took premature babies out of incubators and left them to die. Nonetheless, poorly trained Iraqi conscripts and volunteers of the People's Army militia often behaved without restraint. Their treatment of women was particu-

larly outrageous under Islamic law. Even in Beirut, guerrilla street fighters rarely targeted women. But in Kuwait, Iraqi soldiers raped at will. Their victims included Filipino housemaids as well as Kuwaiti women. Samia al-Husallam, a medical student, said she was dumping her garbage when she discovered the nude body of a young Kuwaiti woman stuffed in a basket—apparently the victim of a gang rape.

Tribal rules: The occupiers looted Kuwait as a matter of policy, reasoning that the wealth of the 19th province was needed elsewhere in greater Iraq. At least one Kuwaiti hotel served as a depot for troops foraging through homes. The Iraqis "would sleep during the day and work at night [gathering television sets and appliances]," said a Filipino who worked at the Sheraton. "They were nice to us, and said if they didn't steal these things they would be shot." Army trucks carted away printing presses, street lamps, college libraries and museum artifacts. "It brings us back 400 or 500 years," said Suleiman al-Shaheen, a Kuwaiti foreign-affairs official. "Back to when tribes pillaged each other because one had more than the other."

Iraqi soldiers also took the opportunity for some personal bargain-hunting. "They took everything," said a Kuwaiti house-

wife: "televisions, radios, food, even dog food." The hunt for anti-Saddam activists was one opportunity for profit. When 23-year-old Kuwaiti student Faisal Abdulhadi was thrown in jail, he said, his family paid two videocassette recorders, two televisions and 3,000 Iraqi dinars for his release. A member of the Kuwaiti ruling family, Sheikh Badr Abdullah Mohammed al-Sabah, 30, said he promised gold and jewelry to the Iraqis after they took him to Baghdad for interrogation; he escaped from the bus that was taking him back to Kuwait to deliver the treasure.

Saddam left the Kuwaitis plenty to remember him by. The occupiers set 600 of the country's 950 oil wells ablaze, a smoky inferno that created dusk at noon in Kuwait, dimmed the sun from Dhahran to central Iran and threatened what a gulf oilman called "a minor-league version of a nuclear winter." Much of Kuwait lacked electricity, plentiful water and telephone service. The capital escaped the ravages of house-to-house fighting, but the Iraqis destroyed hotels, government buildings and the parliament. Large sections of the ruling al-Sabah family's Dasman Palace had been demolished, its marble floors soiled with human excrement. On the palace grounds, mounds of smoldering documents testified to Iraq's determination to destroy all evidence of official Kuwait.

It was in character for mercantile Kuwaitis and their American liberators to see

**THE WAR
DESERT
VICTORY**





MARK PETERS FOR NEWSWEEK

Kuwaitis wander through the emir's gutted palace (above) and kiss every American within reach (below)



LAURENT REBOURS—AP

opportunity in the ashes. A senior U.S. military official pointed out that while damage to the oil industry was severe, the airport was functional, backup electrical generators were available and roads and the water system were basically in good shape. "The bottom line is that damage is not as extensive as had been thought," he said. The U.S. 352nd Civil Affairs Command—a reserve of lawyers, engineers and administrators—began putting together a first-phase rebuilding plan in December. It provided for 15,000 tons a month of rice and other food; seaborne tankers of water; U.S. military health care—and even a public-relations campaign touting a "new," "self-reliant" Kuwait grounded in "Arab/Islam values." The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers had a \$46 million contract to organize the first phase of what may be a \$100 billion national reconstruction program.

Going high tech: Kuwait's labor force will undergo reconstruction, too. Of the 2.1 million people in the country before the invasion, only 600,000 were native Kuwaitis; most others were outside contract workers turning the wheels that created the country's wealth. More than 400,000 of these were Palestinians, some of whom apparently collaborated with the Iraqis and may now become targets of Kuwaiti reprisals. In the future, Kuwaiti planners have decided, the country must rely less on immigrant workers and more on labor-efficient computers and robotics. The U.S. blueprint

foresaw the new Kuwait starting off with a population of 800,000, and the Kuwaitis were determined to go high tech. "This is a godsent opportunity to upgrade and modernize our whole system," said Abdul Latif al-Hamad, the former finance minister. "This is our chance."

First the country had to recover from the trauma of the Iraqi invasion. About half of all Kuwaitis fled abroad to escape the occupiers, and government leaders (also in exile) urged them to stay out for at least three months, until computerized records confirming their nationality can be restored. The plan then is to readmit citizens at a rate of no more than 10,000 a week. The emir declared three months of martial law. But he also promised elections to reconstitute the National Assembly, which he had dissolved in 1986 after it criticized his policies.

Political struggle: Most Kuwaitis agreed that the emir should stay in power. But there were splits between those who supported and those who opposed the 1986 Parliament; between those who wanted more democracy and those who favored tradition, and not least of all between those who fled the Iraqi occupation and those who survived it. "The Kuwaitis today, especially the ones who stayed, are different from the Kuwaitis of Aug. 2," said shipyard director Mousa Marafi, who escaped to London. "The ones who stayed, they are the ones who should have the right to say something of the future of Kuwait."

The Kuwaitis who stayed were also potential legal witnesses to Iraq's atrocities. Saudi Arabia already has funneled some Iraqis arrested as spies into its harsh judicial system as war criminals, said a Western diplomat in Riyadh; "I really doubt they'll see the next hajj," he added. But given the continued freedom of Saddam and his generals, U.S. officials saw little purpose in war-crimes trials to punish the colonels and lieutenants in custody. Washington did intend to demand Iraqi war reparations, however. In one U.S. scheme, a United Nations committee could collect revenues from Iraqi oil sales, give Iraq a modest profit and distribute the rest to various claimants—Kuwait above all. Saddam can never repay Kuwait for its agony and its losses. But Kuwaitis would like to make him try.

STEVEN STRASSER with
RAY WILKINSON and
PETER KATEL in Kuwait City,
MELINDA LIU in Amman,
DANIEL GLICK in Washington,
JENNIFER FOOTE in London
and bureau reports

A Textbook Victory

Schwarzkopf's plan took maximum advantage of the allies' strengths and Saddam's weaknesses

At West Point, Norman Schwarzkopf's favorite course was the History of Military Art. The young cadet buried himself in the legendary campaigns of Alexander the Great, of Caesar, Hannibal and Napoleon. He was not, he admits, a straight-A student. No matter: last week Schwarzkopf took his true final exam. It is very likely that from now on, West Pointers taking the course on strategy they call the Art of War will study the Persian Gulf campaign of Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf.

Never modest—even as a cadet, he announced that he wanted to pattern his career after Alexander's—Schwarzkopf is hardly indifferent to his place in history. Describing his Marine sappers' breaching of the Iraqi line, the American commander remarked, "Absolutely superb operation, textbook, and I think it will be studied for many years." The British commander, Gen. Peter de la Billière, was more fulsome still: "We are, today, at the end of

perhaps one of the greatest victories we have ever experienced. We needn't be shy about it. A great victory."

It was, and by any measure: a bombing campaign that was at once surgical and earth-scorching. A blitzkrieg that blasted with hardly any allied casualties past mines and berms and barbed wire. A surprise sweeping maneuver that outflanked the enemy and "slammed the door" on any retreat. Schwarzkopf's plan was carried out with such efficiency that the most collateral damage done was to the cliché that no plan survives contact with the enemy.

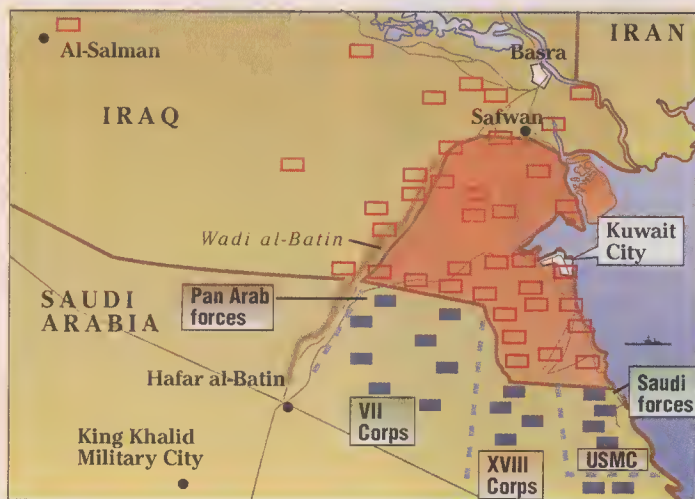
The battle was in many ways a mismatch: as if, one Marine put it, Rhode Island had taken on the United States. Even so, to eliminate a half-million-man Army with 7,000 tanks and armored vehicles and 3,000 artillery pieces is no mean feat. That this was accomplished so quickly and at so little cost of allied lives is remarkable.

The rout of Iraq has few historical precedents. Iraqi casualties may reach 100,000—against some 150 killed in action for coalition forces. At Agincourt in 1415, Henry V of England killed about 10,000 Frenchmen at the cost of a few score countrymen. At the battle of Plassey in 1757, a 2,500-man force under Robert Clive panicked and routed 50,000 Bengalis (securing India as the jewel in England's crown). At Omdurman in 1898, Britain lost fewer than 500 men while killing or wounding 20,000 Sudanese.

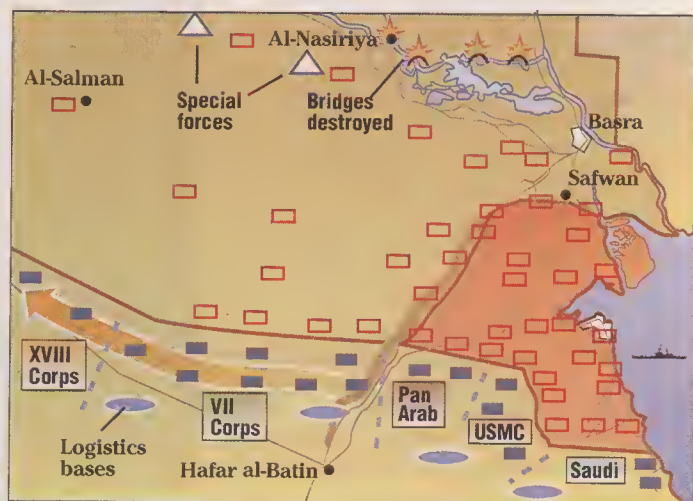
In all these legendary battles, new weapons won the day. At Agincourt, the bow and arrow (the first airstrike) defeated the sword and lance; at Plassey, cannon overcame elephant-mounted cavalry; at Omdurman, machine guns mowed down musketry. But in the Persian Gulf, the Iraqis were supposed to enjoy rough parity. Journalists and pundits may have overstated Iraqi prowess, but then so did the Pentagon. An Army War College study cautioned, "Iraq is superb on the defense. Its army is well-equipped and trained to carry out mobile defense operations." The Soviets, who

THE WAR DESERT VICTORY

How 43 Days of War Ended Seven Months of Iraqi Occupation



1 Aug. 3-Jan. 15: As President Bush formed a 38-nation coalition to oppose Iraq, U.S. commanders deployed the largest concentration of military might since World War II. Gen. Schwarzkopf cunningly massed his troops directly south of Kuwait's border, tricking the Iraqis into guarding against a massive frontal attack.



2 Jan. 16-Feb. 23: U.S., British and French forces, including 82nd and 101st Airborne troops and the armored U.S. VII Corps, secretly shifted west along Iraq's undefended border. Its Air Force wiped out, Iraq could not detect Schwarzkopf's preparations for his assault plan: a flanking maneuver around the fortified front lines.

trained and supplied the Iraqis, cautioned: "Be warned, they are good."

But they were led by a fool. If a leader is a poor strategist, Sun-tzu wrote 2,000 years ago, weapons and tactics cannot save him. At his briefing last week, Schwarzkopf dismissed Saddam's military skills (and just about everything else about him) with a contemptuous "Hah!" The Iraqi strongman was done in largely by his own caution. His crucial mistake was to stop at the Saudi border when he invaded Kuwait. Had he kept going and seized the air base at Dhahran, the Saudis and their American allies would have been almost powerless to stop him. The first paratroopers rushed to Saudi Arabia in August grimly referred to themselves as "speed bumps." Indeed, at his briefing last week, Schwarzkopf mordantly thanked the American press for exaggerating the size and speed of the U.S. buildup.

Saddam's second mistake was to defend Kuwait—but fail to protect his flank in southern Iraq. By digging in his armor, Saddam "threw away" any offensive advantage and reduced his tanks to little more than "pillboxes," said military historian Bryan Perrett. Saddam apparently did not believe that coalition forces could cut off his Army from behind. He read the American press, too—the articles over the years portraying the U.S. military as a gang that couldn't shoot straight.

Saddam clearly put too much confidence in his own weapons systems. Iraq did have

some top-of-the-line Soviet tanks and French warplanes, but not many. Judging from the Persian Gulf War, even the best Soviet technology seems to be about a generation behind the latest U.S. warplanes and missiles. (This did not go unnoticed in the Kremlin: "Something for our military research and development to think about," observed Gen. Sergei Bogdanov of the Soviet General Staff.)

Relentless raids: And the Americans fielded one revolutionary new weapon: stealth technology. Able to slip undetected past the Iraqis' Soviet-made radar, the F-117 Stealth fighter-bombers drove a wedge through Iraqi air defenses that cleared the way for more conventional warplanes. The smart bombs they dropped hit their targets at fairly low cost to both U.S. forces and Iraqi civilians. The relative precision of the air war deprived Saddam of a political goal: arousing Arab anger and sapping American will at home. At the same time, the relentless raids by workhorse B-52 bombers left Saddam's forces in the field half dead. In many ways, the ground offensive was merely the coup de grâce to the campaign.

It was made more stunning by surprise. Schwarzkopf was able to sneak close to 250,000 men, thousands of tanks and mountains of supplies west of Kuwait to the undefended Saudi-Iraq border. Meanwhile, a feigned amphibious assault kept Saddam's men pinned down to the east. Without air power, Saddam's commanders

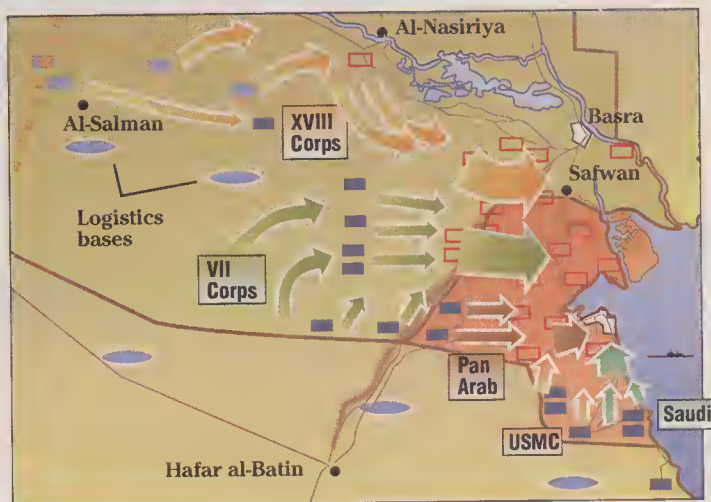
were blind, unable to see Schwarzkopf's chessboard.

Following Clausewitz's precept of attacking the enemy at its center of gravity, Schwarzkopf wanted to aim at Saddam. The coalition forces could not target the Iraqi leader directly, if only because they couldn't catch him out in the open. But by destroying Saddam's communications with his commanders, the allies in effect beheaded the overcentralized Iraqi Army. Individual initiative is not often seen in a military where defying orders means death. (Indeed, Western intelligence sources report that Saddam shot a half dozen of his division commanders during the crisis.) Saddam's best weapon was his Republican Guard. But rather than move these seasoned, well-armed troops to the front to blunt the initial attack, Saddam held them back in reserve. There they were caught off guard. When the tanks of VII Corps rumbled up inside Iraq, many of the Guard's big guns were pointed in the wrong direction. Many Iraqi tanks, noted Marine Gen. Richard Neal, were shot from the rear.

It remains something of a mystery why the Iraqis did not use their much-feared chemical weapons. Allied soldiers found stockpiles of artillery shells with chemical warheads and, in at least one case, orders to use them. But the Iraqis may themselves have been afraid to fight on a battlefield reeking with poison gas, fearful that the coalition would retaliate in kind. Saddam's artillery was so pummeled by the allied



3 Feb. 23: At 8 p.m. (4 a.m. Feb. 24 gulf time), Saudi troops and U.S. Marines drove through Iraqi lines into Kuwait, luring the enemy into thinking this was the main assault. Meanwhile, the XVIII Corps to the west "leapfrogged" by air and ground into Iraq, setting up huge fuel and supply stations deep in the desert. Racing farther north to the Tigris-Euphrates Valley—100 miles from Baghdad—the 101st Airborne blocked the retreating Iraqis. The VII Corps and Pan-Arab forces led ground assaults into Iraq and Kuwait.



4 Feb. 25-28: The threat of a giant amphibious Marine assault kept Iraqi troops pinned down in Kuwait while allied forces from the west systematically destroyed the outflanked Republican Guard and other Iraqi units in several fierce clashes. Bowing to diplomatic concerns, U.S. Marines halted just outside Kuwait City, allowing Pan-Arab forces to formally reclaim the capital. Demoralized, overwhelmed and their escape routes cut off, Iraqi troops quickly crumbled and the liberation of Kuwait was complete.

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LAURENT REBOURS—AP

The burned-out hulks of civilian and military vehicles litter the main highway from Kuwait City to Basra and Baghdad

bombardment that his gunners may not have had the chance to shoot back.

Schwarzkopf takes most of the credit for his battle plan, and deservedly so, since he would have taken the blame if it failed. But victory has a thousand fathers, and some of them are officers who rebuilt an army that was badly demoralized and beaten two decades ago. "We have rethought everything since Vietnam," says Army Vice Chief of Staff Gordon Sullivan (who could not resist adding, "I think it's clear our critics hadn't"). The fruit of this thinking is called AirLand Battle, which the Army insists on spelling as one word to emphasize the integration of ground and air power. AirLand Battle emphasizes maneuver and speed over firepower and hard slogging. It is made possible in part by new technology. JSTARS eye-in-the-sky aircraft can look deep behind enemy lines, thus cutting through the fog of war. A communications system that acts like a vast cellular-phone network allows the troops to talk to each other. Night-vision equipment creates a 24-hour battlefield. Computers track the trajectory of incoming rounds so fast that counterfire can wipe out the enemy's artillery before they get off a second shot.

The "American way of war" used to mean overwhelming the enemy with mass production: fielding a bigger, better-supplied army than any foe. But Desert Storm represents a shift away from mass conscript forces toward a professional elite that knows how to use high-tech weapons on a fast-changing battlefield. That requires intense training. The combat reservists who were sent off to learn desert warfare at Fort Irwin never graduated to the front. The rigor of even simulated modern combat was too great for weekend warriors.

Most of all, the Army's modern blitzkrieg is made possible by logistics. The great German generals like Manstein and Guderian invented the doctrine, the deep flanking and circling movements by fast-moving armor. But the German Panzers kept outrunning their supply lines, which relied on railroads and horses. ("If we had had American logistics," Gen. Ulrich de Maizièr, former chief of staff of the German Bundeswehr, once remarked, "we would have beaten Russia.") The logistical requirements of an armored division in Operation Desert Storm were vastly greater than those of their World War II counterparts: 5,000 tons of ammunition a day versus 500 tons; 555,000 gallons of fuel, 300,000 gallons of water and 80,000 meals versus a mere 300 tons of supplies. But Schwarzkopf's chief logistician, Gen. Gus Pagonis, the Greek-American son of a short-order cook, found ways to "leapfrog" supplies to the front. The roads leading west to the jumping-off point for the VII and XVIII Corps were bumper to bumper with trailer trucks day and night. Not surprisingly, as many soldiers were killed in traffic accidents as by Iraqi shellfire. Pagonis's most dramatic innovation was the forward-based refueling station. Giant bladders of fuel, hung beneath Chinook helicopters, were placed well ahead of the advancing troops—a truck stop behind enemy lines.

Desert Storm will be remembered as the final perfection of the blitzkrieg. Schwarzkopf's model—Montgomery versus Rommel at El Alamein—was fought on a far smaller scale. It pitted 1,200 Allied tanks versus 520 from the Afrika Korps. The coalition forces were able to send 3,500 tanks up against the surviving elements

—perhaps half—of Iraq's initial force of 4,280 tanks. But if Desert Storm was the greatest and most overwhelming armor attack, was it also the last? "Desert Storm tells us a great deal about the past. It tells us nothing about the future," said Martin van Creveld, a military historian at Hebrew University in Jerusalem. The battle will be cited as a triumph of air power, redeeming the false promise of Vietnam. But the Iraqis put up so little resistance that the most apt comparison is probably the use of air power by colonial forces in the 1930s: Italians beating up on defenseless Ethiopians.

Superweapons: The technology used in Desert Storm was for the most part mature, which may account for its success. But new technologies will arrive to counter today's superweapons. For the moment, infantry cannot defeat tanks. But in a decade or two, the foot soldier may be armed with tank-killing hypervelocity missiles. The technologies spawned by the Star Wars program will likely solve the riddle of how to pierce heavy armor with a lightweight weapon.

A greater certainty is the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Professor van Creveld dismisses the gulf war as "a fluke" because, in the future, any nation rich enough and aggressive enough to mount a Saddam-size army will surely have nukes as well. "Saddam got his timing wrong. He invaded Kuwait three years or so before he had the bomb." The spread of such weapons of devastation will either make wars less likely—or just more devastating. But at least, thanks to the violent winds of Operation Desert Storm, they won't be started by Saddam Hussein.

JOHN BARRY and EVAN THOMAS

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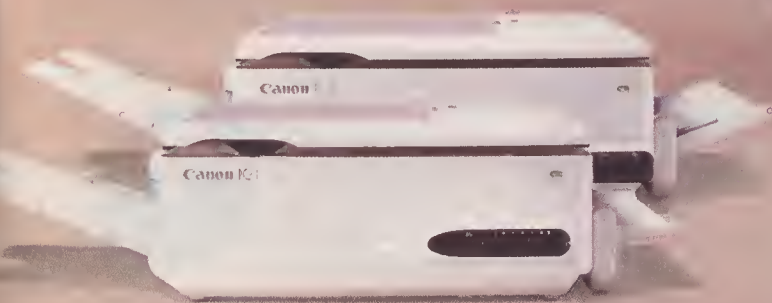
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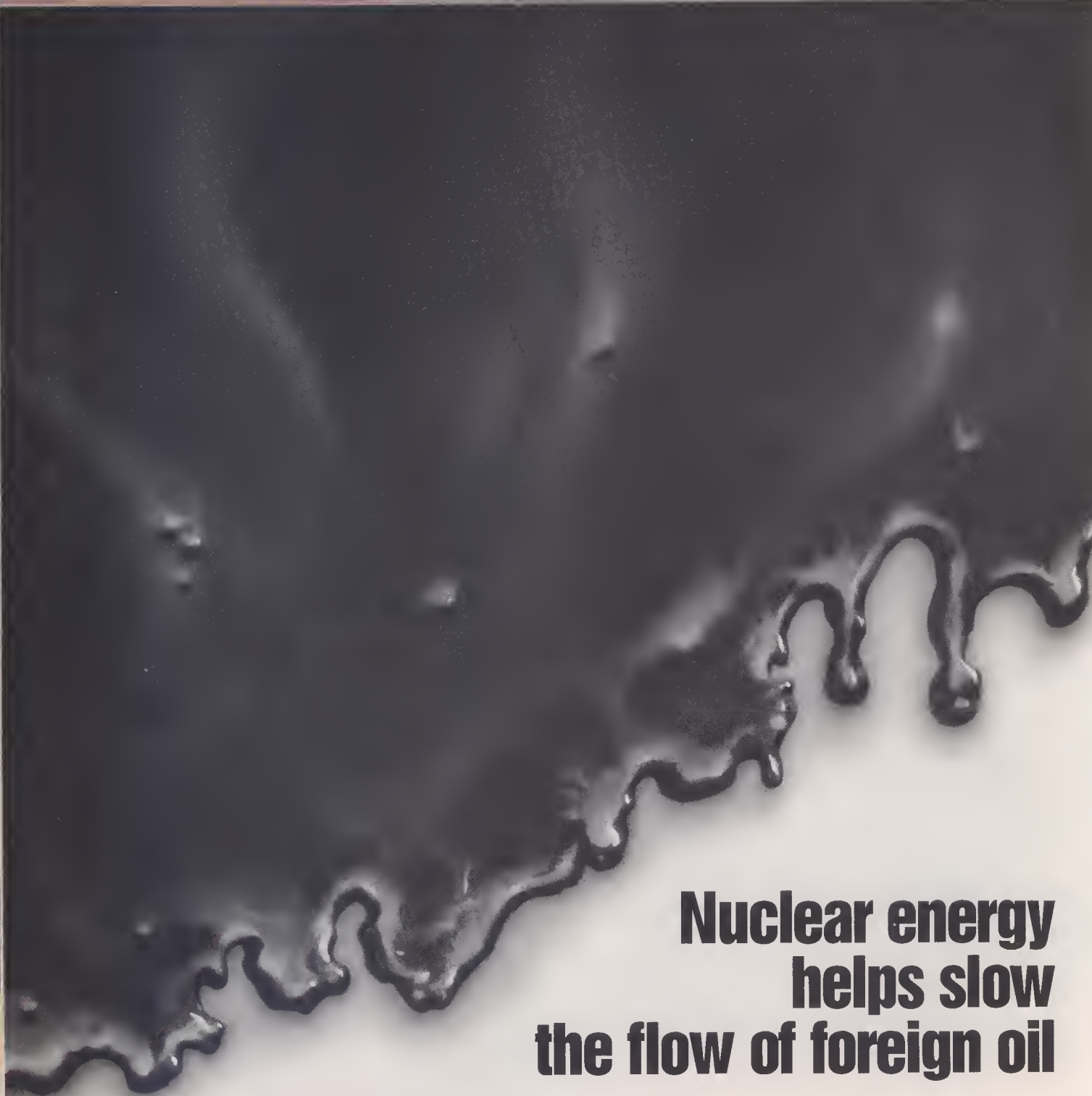


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LAURENT REBOURS—AP

An Iraqi soldier lies dead on the outskirts of Kuwait City, killed as allied forces swept almost unhindered into the capital

'Move Forward and Shoot the Things'

Charging into battle with the 'Hounds of Hell'

Into the breach: crucial to the allied battle plan was the Tiger Brigade, a tank unit attached to the Marines in Kuwait but originally a part of George Patton's "Hell on Wheels" Second Armored Division in World War II. The brigade's assignment was to race north to Kuwait City to cut off Iraqi forces fleeing to their homeland. NEWSWEEK's Tony Clifton traveled with the leading tanks of the brigade's 3-67 "Hounds of Hell" Battalion. His report:

It was, said the battalion's scholarly executive officer, Maj. Robert Williams, "the chance to do what every cavalry unit wants to do once in its life. Drop the reins and charge." As the tanks approached Kuwait City, they were stretched out so far they disappeared into a mist thick with smoke from burning oil wells. Their big 120-mm guns swung restlessly from side to side, looking like nothing so much as great dinosaurs sniffing for prey. They charged forward in a hail of orange tracers from their turret-mounted .50-caliber machine guns. Out of the mist came the chatter of their light machine guns and the thudding boom of their big guns.

The rolling dunes were honeycombed with Iraqi bunkers defended by light artillery pieces and dug-in T-55 tanks. The Hounds picked off tanks from a mile away.

One just ahead of me disintegrated into enormous fragments; the turret, weighing several tons, flew 20 feet into the air like the lid of a giant garbage can. The tracers set off black and scarlet fireballs and brilliant white showers as gas-storage tanks and munitions went up. A strong wind was blowing from behind us, so we rushed ahead wreathed in the black and white smoke from our burning quarry.

Most Iraqis just gave up—or tried to. It was a bizarre scene. The advance was like a giant hunt. The Iraqis were driven ahead of us like animals. But as we streamed forward in a diamond-shape formation more than two miles long and nearly as wide, we had no time to pick up prisoners. Huddled groups of green-uniformed soldiers waving white rags of surrender stood, bewildered, while tanks roared by. They looked like spectators caught on a demolition-derby circuit.

But some fought back. "I was driving along in my hummer [the new version of the jeep], and I saw this T-55 that everyone had passed without hitting because it seemed abandoned," recalled First Lt. Mark Powell, 27. "Just as I came alongside, this Iraqi jumped on the turret with a rocket launcher on his shoulder and aimed at me. I was dead.

Then there was this huge double explosion and I really thought they'd got me. I looked up, and I saw the guy against a wall of bright red flame, with the launcher still on his shoulder. Then he sort of vaporized. Major Williams had seen him and fired, and the two bangs were his gun and the T-55 blowing up." Williams, a former West Point assistant ethics professor, said only: "I killed my first man today, and I'm not sure I feel very good about it."

Riding herd on this juggernaut was Lt. Col. Douglas Tystad, Hound Six on the radio. From his lead tank, Hound Dog A1, the lean, self-deprecating South Dakotan talked almost continuously for 10 hours during the initial charge through Kuwait. Tystad's role fell somewhere between that of Attila the Hun and a primary-school teacher trying to keep in line an unruly group of children—tank crews roaring along on 63-

ton monsters with names like Bad Attitude, Born to be Wild and Brain Damage. His radio calls were channeled through Porcupine Six, a Vietnam-vintage armored personnel carrier bristling with antennas that was used as the unit's communications vehicle. I rode in Porcupine Six, just behind Tystad's lead tank at the

center of the front line. It was easy to see why Tystad's brigade commander later nominated him for the Silver Star.

The smoky mist made it hard for widely spread tanks to keep formation, and they tended to wander into each other's lanes. "You gotta keep out east, you're wandering, now get back where you should be," said Tystad. Someone radioed that he saw unidentified tanks at 2,300 meters. "Well, move forward and shoot the goddam things." Two huge fireballs blossomed from tanks barely visible at that range. Another

**THE WAR
DESERT
VICTORY**



VINCENT AMALVY—APF

No match for allied armor, a wrecked Iraqi tank lies in the desert outside Kuwait City

voice described Iraqis in armored vehicles "who look as if they're trying to surrender." Tystad replied: "If they don't get out quickly, you gotta kill them." But when another young commander wanted to fire a few rounds into a bunker with a white flag "to see if we can shake a few of 'em out," Tystad commanded: "Don't be a cowboy, you can't do that, you gotta respect the white flag."

We reached our main objective at about 4 p.m. Wednesday: the al-Mutlaa police station, a square concrete blockhouse. It was important because it sits west of Kuwait City on the main Sixth Ring Motorway, which turns into the highway north to Iraq. We couldn't see it clearly, but thousands of Iraqis were trying to escape up the highway.

The Hounds soon stopped that. In the smoky twilight, the lead tanks opened up on Iraqi armor grouped outside the station. An Iraqi T-55 tank immediately blew up in a great fountain of white fire. Secondary explosions went on for an hour. Next to go was an armored personnel carrier. Then a line of fuel tankers spewed flame and oily smoke across the other burning vehicles. Orange and green tracers swept the buildings and armored vehicles now scattering off the road. Then, in the middle of this mayhem, there was a sudden lull, as if everyone had decided to reload at the same time. As soon as the firing stopped, a middle-aged, balding man in a long Kuwaiti robe walked toward the U.S. tanks. He strolled over to the nearest Bradley armored personnel carrier, gestured his thanks to the driver, then walked off down the road as the firing broke out again. At its

peak, the scene looked like something out of a medieval artist's vision of hell, a great backdrop of leaping flames against which we could see the tiny figures of men frantically trying to escape the fire.

That night we mourned our own casualty, S/Sgt. Harold Witzke, the battalion's master gunner. While the Hounds blasted the police station, Witzke and a group of men set up the battalion's Tactical Operations Center nearby. As he was inspecting the perimeter, Witzke was shot dead by a sniper from inside an adjoining junkyard. He had taught most of the battalion gunnery skills and was known as both a "stud," a man to be admired, and a "mentor," a man to be learned from. He was 28 years old, with a wife and two children in Copperas Cove, Texas. The battalion's operations sergeant major, a tough little veteran named Luis Montero, paid him a soldier's tribute: "You could ask him to do anything, night or day, and he'd just do it. You never had to check on him."

Plunder: Witzke died fighting. Many of the Iraqis killed at the police station died dishonorably—while fleeing with everything they could plunder. That was clear when we went back the next day to see the damage the Hounds had wrought. It was terrifying.

The initial shelling had blocked the road off, and a vast traffic jam of more than a mile of vehicles, perhaps 2,000 or more, had formed behind it. Allied jets had then repeatedly pounded the blocked vehicles. As we drove slowly through the wreckage, our armored personnel carrier's tracks splashed through great pools of bloody wa-

ter. We passed dead soldiers lying, as if resting, without a mark on them. We found others cut up so badly, a pair of legs in its trousers would be 50 yards from the top half of the body. Four soldiers had died under a truck where they had sought protection. Others were fanned out in a circle as if a bomb had landed in the middle of their group. I saw no Kuwaiti civilians among the dozens of corpses.

Most grotesque of all was the charred corpse of an Iraqi tank crewman, his blackened arms stretched upward in a sort of supplication. He lay just a few yards from a grandiose monument to Saddam. It was a sort of shrine, 15 feet high, bearing two portraits of Saddam in colored tiles—one showing him in a suit, the other with him dressed as a Kuwaiti in flowing white robes and headdress. "I'm going down there later with 50 pounds of C4 [plastic explosive] and I'm going to blow the god-

dam thing sky high," said the Tiger Brigade's commander, Col. John Sylvester.

Apart from military vehicles of all kinds, there were private Kuwaiti automobiles, Kuwaiti police cars, orange school buses, trucks and ambulances. Many obviously were stolen; they had been hot-wired. Nearly all were piled with loot. There were trucks filled with carpets and furniture, cars packed with video recorders, tapes, radios, television sets, boxes of men's underwear in original wrappers, women's jewelry, hundreds of bottles of perfume, books, cutlery, children's toys, medical equipment, bunches of artificial flowers. There was even a rosary, probably stolen from a Filipino servant in what is a very Muslim country. One of the ambulances was piled high with AK-47 rifles. Marine Brig. Gen. Paul Van Riper looked disgustedly at the tangled wreckage. "This was an army that came to Kuwait for one reason," he said. "To loot and pillage."

In his tent afterward, Sylvester said that the battle had gone exactly the way he had outlined in his Commander's Intent, the description of an attack given to subordinate officers before a campaign begins. "It [was] to be a quick, violent action, resulting in decisive delivery of overwhelming firepower on the enemy," he said. Sylvester's own Intent could be used to describe the whole of this extraordinary campaign; never before has such overwhelming firepower been delivered so decisively in so short a time. Harried relentlessly by men like the Hounds, Saddam Hussein's Mother of Battles was never allowed time to give birth.



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RAY WILKINSON—NEWSWEEK

Grunts from Task Force 'Ripper' en route to punching through the 'Saddam line'

Anatomy of a Cakewalk

'The chain has been pulled, to flush Saddam away'

BY RAY WILKINSON

I am the first into the trenches. I throw a grenade, but it doesn't explode. I zero in on an Iraqi. He is also aiming at me, but I pull the trigger first," said Pfc. Tony Morales, recalling a dream the night before. It was Saturday in the Saudi Arabian desert. While the rest of the world was hoping to avoid a ground war, Morales was huddling with the First Battalion, Fifth Marine Regiment, preparing for a battle he feared would make the southern California gang wars he grew up with seem like a schoolyard scuffle. "If old J.C. up in the sky pulls my card, there's nothing I can do about it, is there?"

Morales's nightmare never came to pass. Less than five days later allied forces would reduce Saddam Hussein's military machine to smoldering rubble. Morales's unit, code-named Ripper, would smash through Iraq's first line of defense to lead an armored assault on Kuwait City. But on Saturday night none of the Ripper force dared hope for a cakewalk. Sgt. Bobby Bowles of Cloverleaf, Texas, was handing out grenades to his squad before curling up with a well-thumbed copy of the men's magazine *Forum*. Lance Cpl. Andrew Hess of Romeo, Mich., kneaded his anxiety by writing poetry. His ode on war began: "Your psychotic illusions / no one understands, / ever since you came home / from that foreign land." A few Marines listened to George Bush on the radio politely encouraging Soviet diplomatic efforts. But Col. Carl Fulford, the Ripper commander, knew the true score. "Marines have been

infiltrating the Iraqi minefields for the last several hours," he told his men. "The toilet chain has already been pulled, and Saddam Hussein is about to be flushed away."

The squad moved out shortly after midnight. As dawn broke on a bitterly cold, wet morning, an endless armada of Marine armor unfolded before Iraq's front line. M-60 tanks churned forward; tiny humvees snapped at the fringes of the fleet like watchful sheepdogs.

Twenty or so grunts were packed tightly into each amtrac, an amphibious tractor with a high profile and thin armor—a target for Iraqi tanks and artillery. Over the deafening throb of the amtrac motor, grunts masked their tension by shouting the Marine Corps hymn and songs from the rock group Megadeth. "Hold your breath," yelled Sergeant Bowles from a command bubble atop his trac. "We're going through." Everyone knew what he meant: breaching the Saddam line, near the L-shaped heel of the Saudi-Kuwaiti border. For months, the squad had anticipated the worst—heavily armed forces behind berms, minefields and antitank ditches.

The first defensive line put up no resistance. The Iraqis had fled; the only signs of weapons were a few forlorn dummy tanks constructed to half-scale out of corrugated tin sheeting. A handful of abandoned bunkers lay open to the sky or were flimsily protected by tin roofing and a single layer of sandbags.

It wasn't until they reached the second

defensive line, several miles into Kuwait, that the Marines came face to face with the enemy. Lance Cpl. Scott Cornell had daydreamed many times about this moment. "It will be like the Super Bowl to end Super Bowls," he said. The actual contest proved no match for Cornell's imagination. As tanks and TOWs laid down fire, Iraqis began popping up out of the desert floor, first in ones and twos, then in columns of hundreds, in a massive act of surrender. Mindful of the enemy's feigned surrender at Khafji, when Iraqis suddenly turned on their Saudi captors and opened fire, the grunts were nervous about so many prisoners. But there seemed little fight left in the ragged troops they faced.

Further into Kuwait, Iraqi damage was more palpable. As night fell, dozens of oil-field fires blazed across the horizon. A black, acrid veil enveloped the advancing Marine columns, cutting visibility to a few feet.

The grunts were torn between elation and apprehension. "We still haven't busted our cherry yet," warned Sergeant Bowles. Platoon leader Mark Berrigan expressed relief that his men were being "eased" into war. But other grunts wondered aloud if they would get to fire a round in anger or be

able to call in an artillery or airstrike against the enemy.

Throughout the next two days, the squad's progress across Kuwait was halted four times by chemical-attack alerts. "Gas, gas, gas," a grunt would shout from trac to trac. Squad members, already decked out in cumbersome chemical suits, put on masks and rubber gloves. To make sure there was no lingering gas, one unlucky grunt per trac unmasked while his buddies watched him intently for signs of ill effects. Only later did officers venture that the attacks were probably false alarms.

Smoking sandpits: Task Force Ripper entered the southern suburbs of Kuwait City at dusk on Tuesday, hours after a hasty Iraqi retreat. Allied airstrikes, tank and TOW attacks were devastatingly accurate. Dozens of Iraqi tanks, trucks and armored personnel carriers lay smoking in sandpits.

At the threshold of the most lopsided victory in Marine Corps history, the grunts had gotten through with a prodigious armored attack relatively unscathed: one casualty from an accidental discharge of a shotgun. Their thoughts invariably turned homeward. Lance Corporal Hess, the poet, looked forward to the day he could take a "daylong shower, grab a cold Miller draft and a good-looking lady and live the hell out of life." For Private Morales, coming home meant building his wonder truck. "What I don't plan on doing is ever going to the beach again," he said. "I never, never want to see sand again in my life."

THE WAR
DESERT
VICTORY

Lessons of a Lucky War

Next time, there may be more of a fight

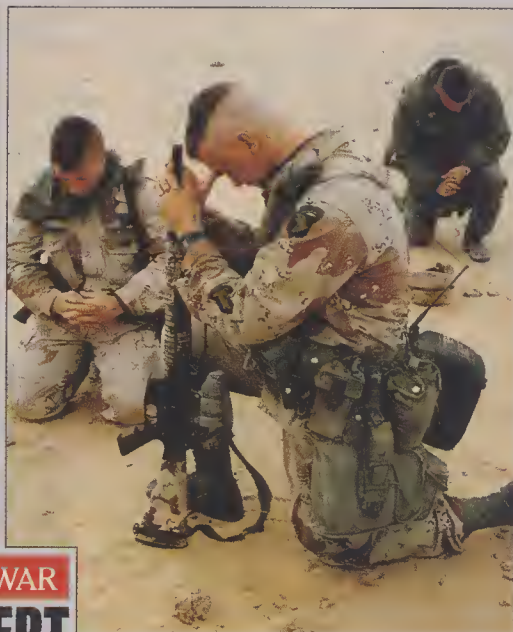
BY COL. DAVID H. HACKWORTH

The war is over, but hold on: before the parades and medal ceremonies, we should ask ourselves how a militarily muscle-bound thug like Saddam Hussein took the world near the edge of an abyss. It was good fortune that he squandered his military strength in a series of blunders, beginning with his assumption that the West would not contest his annexation of Kuwait and ending with his failure to understand allied firepower and skill of maneuver. But we can't always rely on good fortune. So we have to look at why U.S.

Mideast policy failed in the first place. And we must learn the military lessons of the seven-month face-off that ended in only 100 hours of ground war.

The United States cannot afford to be the world's policeman. We're broke and our economy is in deep trouble. But since we are the last remaining superpower, we do have responsibilities. Accordingly, our military must be drastically reformed and restructured for the 21st century. The Pentagon learned from the Vietnam War; most of the major mistakes there were not repeated here. Still, every aspect of this operation must be carefully examined, from the role of women in the service, to serving married couples, to the reserve units designated for combat round-outs. The idea of an all-volunteer Army needs to be re-examined in terms of cost-effectiveness versus an Army of draftees that may not be as efficient but would certainly be less costly and more democratic. And we should look again at weapons systems so questionable their sponsors declined to use them in the gulf: the Air Force's B-1 bomber, for example.

Seldom will a military machine have the time we had in the gulf. Only a military amateur like Saddam would allow his foe to grow strong right in front of his foxholes. Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf had more than six months to develop the right mix of forces, and he needed every last day. We did not have enough fast



BILL GENTILE—DOD POOL FOR NEWSWEEK

U.S. troops pray before the ground war

THE WAR DESERT VICTORY

ships or cargo aircraft to move our forces quickly, and the forces' supply bins had been allowed to be drawn down to a dangerous level of spare parts, ammo and other essential gear. Our initial forces got over here with their shirttails hanging out.

The forces deployed beginning in August would have been nothing more than a speed bump in the desert if Iraqi tank columns had charged into Saudi Arabia. A key lesson from this exercise is that the Pentagon needs a fast-moving, hard-hitting three-division-size reaction force modeled after the USMC expeditionary force that arrived here in August with the first heavy tanks and a 60-day level of supplies and ammo. This force was ready to fight, but not heavy enough to sustain a strong attack. The military also needs a lightweight air-transportable tank with the wallop of the 65-ton Abrams. It needs a new generation of antitank weapons—not only technologically modern, but rugged, too.

Hammer and anvil: Air power did a most impressive job and virtually won this war by itself. Air was the hammer and the ground and naval forces were the anvil. Air power worked here because of the desert terrain; once the allies achieved air supremacy, air-to-ground attacks could continue unimpeded. Few future battlefields will be similar. This campaign cannot serve as a model for the future. America must have a balanced reaction force with sea- and airlift designed for a mix of air, ground and sea missions.

Pre-positioning of gear in volatile regions is important. For more than 30 years the Pentagon has called for pre-positioned hardware in the gulf region. This time the Marines had gear on Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, and the concept worked well. It would also help to have regular multinational military deployments in the gulf, similar to NATO's annual "Reforger" exercises.

Training needs to change, too. Although our soldiers are of the highest quality, they still do not train realistically enough for war. There is too much emphasis on safety. As a result, units do not train for integrated combat in a live-fire environment, where artillery, armed helicopters, close air-support jets, armored vehicles and soldiers replicate the violent and confusing conditions found on the battlefield. You

don't learn football by going to the gym and watching videotapes. You learn by getting bruised on the field. As a result, there have been too many friendly-fire casualties, especially with air attacks on armor. An idea would be to have an IFF (Identification Friend or Foe) black box aboard all vehicles, just as on aircraft. The pilot would get ID before firing.

Finally, we must not make the mistake Congress almost made at the end of the cold war. Even as Saddam was preparing to roll into Kuwait, the peace-dividend gang were preparing to cut the military to the bone with their own "Farewell to Arms." Had Saddam simply waited until 1992, these lawmakers would have assured his victory, and the world would have had a new oil baron.

I hope this war is the last high-intensity war I see in my lifetime. I oppose war because I know its consequences: there are no winners. This is even more clear now that the destructive capability of weaponry is so total and weapons are so precise. War is no longer a group of merry men meeting on top of a sunny hill, such as at Hastings in 1066, and swinging axes at each other before retiring to the pub for a few glasses of ale. The bottom line: we have to fight better, but it's better not to have to fight. It is ironic that this sad lesson had to be relearned in the land of the Tigris and Euphrates, the cradle of civilization.

The author retired from the U.S. Army in 1971. He has been in Saudi Arabia on special assignment for NEWSWEEK.

The Military's New Image

The success of Operation Desert Storm finally erases the stigma of Vietnam

THE WAR HOME FRONT

Modern wars are often defined by a single image—the flag-raising on Iwo Jima, for example, or the terrified Vietnamese children running from a U.S. napalm attack at Trang Bang in 1972. Last week's television footage of Iraqi soldiers falling on their knees to kiss the hands of their U.S. Marine captors could be the defining visual of the war in the Persian Gulf. The videotape said it all: Saddam Hussein's humiliation and the allies' triumph, the victors and the vanquished indelibly joined in the grainy immediacy of battlefield journalism. It signified, as few war photos have ever done, qualities of national character that Americans like to think are unique to them: power and restraint, an easy confidence in the rightness of the American cause that is tempered by magnanimity in victory.

The unequivocal success of Operation Desert Storm was every bit as edifying to the nation's military. For the generals, and for men and women in the service everywhere, the lightning victory over the world's fourth largest army was a long-awaited rebuttal to those who had predicted tragedy and disillusionment in the Persian Gulf. The "miraculous" casualty figures seemed to vindicate the Pentagon's multibillion-dollar investment in high-tech weaponry during the past 10 years. The sweeping precision of the allied assaults into Kuwait and Iraq, slicing through and rolling up much-vaunted enemy units like Iraq's Republican Guard, demonstrated the combat readiness of the all-volunteer military and the competence of U.S. commanders. Beyond all that, for many in the services, Desert Storm assuaged the ugly memory of

Vietnam. "The stigma of Vietnam has been erased," said an Army officer at the Pentagon. "That's one of the reasons a complete and total victory was necessary."

Mesmerized by the bloodless unreality of the Nintendo-game air war and worried by predictions of heavy casualties when the ground war finally began, millions of Americans seemed caught up in the wave of relief and patriotic euphoria that followed George Bush's cease-fire declaration last week. "We didn't shut off the TV until 4 o'clock this morning," said Vietnam veteran Arthur Stevenson of Everett, Mass., whose son John is serving with the Navy in the Persian Gulf. "I felt like running out and putting up a sign saying, 'You done good, John!'" Karen Hall of Ft. Lauderdale, Fla., whose son Henry is on active duty with the Marine



In the euphoria of a lightning victory—here, confident

Corps in the gulf, said U.S. forces "did what had to be done, and did it with expertise and pride. When these veterans come home, they are going to find such a proud America to welcome them home."

As measured by NEWSWEEK's latest polling, public support for the military, while trending upward for the past 10 years, reached a 15-year high last week (chart). The gusher of adulation conferred instant celebrity on Pentagon figures ranging from Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney to press spokesman Pete Williams, who was suddenly being mentioned as a possible gubernatorial candidate in his home state of Wyoming. The Bear—Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf—became a box-office blow-out on the strength of his masterful after-action briefing in Riyadh: in NEWSWEEK's Poll, 93 percent of the public had a favorable opinion of Desert Storm's commander, which was 3 points higher than the president. Gen. Colin Powell, whose rise to the chairmanship of the Joint Chiefs of Staff personified the expanding opportunities for African-Americans in uniform (page 54), trailed Bush by only 4 points. The larger point was that both generals, unlike many of their predecessors, were instantly

OPINION WATCH

The Highest Marks

How much confidence do you have in the following . . . (percent saying "great deal" or "quite a lot")?

| | Current | 1990 | 1981 |
|---------------|---------|------|------|
| The military | 88% | 68% | 50% |
| Churches | 58% | 56% | 64% |
| Supreme Court | 51% | 47% | 46% |
| Banks | 30% | 36% | 46% |
| Television | 30% | 25% | 25% |
| Congress | 33% | 24% | 29% |

From the NEWSWEEK Poll of March 1, 1991



TANNEN MAURY—DOD POOL

troops of the 82nd Airborne Division enter Kuwait—public support for the armed forces hit a new high

recognizable to the vast majority of Americans. "A media consultant's dream," Democratic pollster Geoffrey Garin said. The brass, he said, had "all the qualities that our politicians ought to have—they were plain-spoken, quietly confident, and they got the job done."

That was the beauty part: from the generals to the jet jockeys and the truck-driving grunts, the men and women of Desert Storm looked like a Norman Rockwell painting come to life. They were young, confident and hardworking, and they went about their business with poise and élan. "One of the most important things to happen since August has been the ease with which our country has adjusted to women in the gulf," said Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, director of women's studies at Emory University. "To see women performing well, with no drama or fanfare, seems to me to be more striking than anything else women have done lately. And because of television, it is written in the public consciousness now."

It was hard to say just how much ordinary Americans cared about the promise of a new world order or the prospects for long-term stability in the Middle East. But they

cared a lot about supporting the troops, and there were many signs of lessened tolerance toward those opposing the war. Sentimental or not, the contagion of yellow ribbons seemed to flow from a "desire to make up for the way the military was treated after Vietnam," said historian Robert Dallek of UCLA. Skeptics like Todd Gitlin, a leading antiwar protester in the 1960s and a sociologist at the University of California, Berkeley, today, argued that the military's current prestige in part reflects Americans' long love affair with winners. And journalist David Halberstam, who led the media attack on the military's inflated claims in Vietnam, lamented the re-emergence of what he called "that awful 'We're No. 1' syndrome."

New doctrine: But the doubters were overwhelmed by the dimensions of the allied victory in the gulf. The weapons—smart bombs, Patriot missiles, even the Bradley fighting vehicle—all looked like winners. "What will come out of this war is a renewed sense of American superiority and confidence in the country's military technology," Dallek said. "That was lost in Vietnam, because there was a guerrilla army that managed to stand up to American power."

Kenneth Watman of the Rand Corp. traced the success of Desert Storm to a series of fundamental reforms within the services—the Army's adoption of a radically new battle doctrine emphasizing speed, deception and maneuver; the streamlining of the Pentagon command structure, and the services' heavy emphasis on tactics and training through the 1980s. Above all, Watman said, Desert Storm proved the soundness of the military's obsession with big-ticket, precision-guided weaponry. "In the history of war, I don't think there's ever been such a disproportionate battle as this," Watman said. Smart weapons "resulted in a fabulous saving of life," and "even if they don't do anything from here on out, they took a war that could have cost us thousands [of lives] and it cost us less than a hundred."

You could argue, as Daniel Ellsberg did, that the gulf war will only reinforce America's reliance on military power in international conflict—and you could argue, with historian Gerald Linderman of the University of Michigan, that the antiseptic quality of the Nintendo war was dangerously misleading to the young. Desert Storm "was a war that

seemed to bring to life the best of the video games," Linderman said. "We have seen no soldiers subjected to seemingly endless artillery barrages [or] cradling dying comrades." Robert Muller, executive director of the Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation, complained that "the sacrifice and suffering" of Vietnam had been "obliterated" in the gulf, and that the nation had succumbed to "blind, flag-waving, frenzied allegiance to the imperial presidency."

This pessimism seemed at least somewhat overstated. Few in Washington think the success of Desert Storm will prevent Congress and the Bush administration from making significant cuts in the Pentagon budget, and *NEWSWEEK's* poll shows that most Americans are still reluctant to support distant military adventures. The real lesson of the gulf war, one Army officer mused last week, was that "as a people and as an army, we shouldn't get a fat head about this." Sound advice—especially at a euphoric moment when America and its warriors were riding very high.

TOM MORGANTHAU with DOUGLAS WALLER
in Washington, BILL TURQUE in New York,
GINNY CARROLL in Houston and
ANDREW MURR in Los Angeles

Clippings From the Media War

Why the press was one of the gulf's casualties

As any radio-talk-show host can attest, Iraq isn't the only loser in the gulf war. Though a surprising 59 percent of Americans in the NEWSWEEK Poll think better of the news media than before the war, the press corps also took some pounding. News organizations were routed by the military in the battle over access and assaulted by many viewers. The globalization of news (a new idea) ran smack into national allegiance during wartime (an old idea). Obviously, generalizing about the "media" is not entirely fair; almost every publication and TV network can point to examples of good pieces. But on the whole the war was more noteworthy for the lessons it taught.

■ **Drain the Pools.** The Pentagon's effort to control coverage was based on the infamous use of pools, in which small groups of reporters were taken into the field under the constant eye of military public-affairs officers. From beginning to end, this was one of the last places to find a good story. In the blame game, the real culprits are news executives who agreed to the silly rules long before the war. If they had threatened not to participate, the restrictions might well have been loosened. At bottom, the military needs TV to build and sustain support for the war even more than TV needs the military to build ratings.

Several print reporters tried working outside the pools and were arrested. The TV networks, by and large, were chastened by the early capture of CBS's Bob Simon and his crew at the Kuwaiti border (they were finally released in Baghdad last week with the help of the Soviet Union after six weeks in captivity). Until the end, when CBS's Bob McKeown raced to Kuwait City first for a scoop, CBS, NBC and CNN stuck with the pool rules and paid for it. Only ABC, after much internal debate, agreed to let Forrest Sawyer break free of the system. His strategy was to hook up with the Saudi and Egyptian forces, which, ironically for countries with rigid anti-press policies, were far more open to coverage than their American counterparts. The result was that ABC was the first network with footage of deserters (well before the ground war), the first (and only) to go along on a bombing mission and the first with pic-

tures from the front. As ABC's experience showed, the news media can be trusted to report without exposing their personnel to the hazards of the modern battlefield or interfering with military operations.

Journalists are not the only victims of the restrictive press policy. Except for some archival footage shot by the military, historians will have no record of most of the actual fighting in this war. As for the soldiers themselves, most of their he-



COURTESY CBS

CBS's McKeown in Kuwait City: Venturing beyond the pools

roic efforts will go unwitnessed.

■ **Skip the Briefings.** Experienced reporters try to avoid most press conferences. Little real information usually comes out of them, and when it does—as at Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf's—the word gets out. Here's where the pool idea might actually make sense. Send everyone else out to report. The result would be better stories and, almost as important, protection of the press from itself. The single biggest blow to the media's reputation was the televising of badly framed and occasionally idiotic questions at the Riyadh and Pentagon briefings. Some of that can't be avoided—the process of news gathering is messy—but editors should not have sent reporters to the war who wouldn't know a battalion from a brigade if their lives depended on it.

■ **Context, Context, Context.** Peter Arnett in Baghdad wasn't the problem; his reporting, however restricted, was better than nothing. The problem was at CNN head-

quarters in Atlanta. The network wrongly thought its boilerplate disclaimer after his broadcasts ended its obligation to provide context for his reports. This is where CNN squandered its early lead in the coverage. Its experts were no better or worse than the others. But with a few exceptions, the CNN correspondents—viewed too often as interchangeable parts—did not usually analyze as well as the competition.

Of course, much of the analysis by the networks amounted to little more than treading water. Countless hours were spent on military diagrams of dubious accuracy. Using the media to confuse the enemy is part of fighting a war. And speculation is half the fun of covering one. But the time devoted to it was disproportionate. In a larger sense, increasingly scarce TV

news resources were misallocated. Why was it left to PBS to air a documentary exploring Saddam Hussein's past? Why didn't all of the networks air carefully prepared historical and geographical programs like Peter Jennings's fine "Line in the Sand"? The bias for live coverage—even when nothing was happening—meant less insight overall.

■ **Forget Phony Neutrality.** Cheer-leading is unnecessary, and it cheapens the coverage. Even the use of "we" to describe the allied side undermines the professionalism with which a war is supposed to be reported. Dan Rather getting teary and shaking hands with Lt. Gen. Walt Boomer should have been done off camera, where human emotions would not interfere with a story that was plenty dramatic on its own. Contrary to what the ads for local news shows say, real journalists keep their feelings from getting in the way.

But commendable dispassion should not be confused with neutrality. In a war like this one, full "objectivity" is not only impossi-

ble, it's dishonest. No reporter can be expected to resolve whether he is a journalist first, or an American. He (or she) is some combination of the two. The proper approach is to neither assume the U.S. government is always lying, nor always telling the truth. Trust, but verify, as Ronald Reagan used to say.

And what if verification—independent reporting—is impossible, as it was so often in the gulf? With its quick win, the Pentagon will surely try to repeat its press policy the next time. The only answer is to keep banging on the door, looking under rocks and avoiding worry about being popular.

JONATHAN ALTER

THE WAR
HOME
FRONT

When Duty Has a Price

Gulf service cost some reservists money

BY JANE BRYANT QUINN

THE WAR HOME FRONT

When the cheering stops and America's reservists step back into their daily lives, some will have paid an unwarranted financial price. In theory, the government swings a safety net under everyone called for military duty. But—as gulf veterans are learning—that protection isn't perfect. If you've joined the Reserves, or might in the future, you need to plan for the consequences.

Normally, reservists' jobs, at least, are safe. When they return, their companies have to rehire them at their old jobs or equal ones, and pay them any raises due. Ditto for enlistees who serve no more than four years. The only exception to these

have to let reservists keep their employee plans at their expense for up to 18 months—but this perk doesn't come cheap.

As for life insurance, the military offers \$50,000 worth of coverage for just \$4 a month, regardless of age. But that might not be enough to replace a reservist's group insurance if his or her company cancels it. People who join the military Reserve should (1) check on whether their employers will continue group coverage if there's a call-up; (2) buy back-up coverage from an insurer whose policies pay even if they die in war (plenty of such insurance is around); (3) remember that USAA Life in San Antonio sells limited amounts of insurance even to men and women already in a war zone.



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risky to be a reservist at all.

■ **Benefits.** Some employers finance group health insurance for reservists' families; others don't. If the family switches to government insurance, they usually have to use military health facilities—and sometimes pay more of the medical bills than they did under their private plans. By law, companies that employ 20 people or more

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Lenders are more lenient rates. American Express, no additional interest on reservist carries on an Optima he or she is called up chases are billed at regular. Fargo Bank defers interest payments on reservist and consumer loans.

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Associate: VIRGINIA WILSON

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Several print reporters were outside the pools and with TV networks, by and large, by the early capture of Kuwait and his crew at the Kuwaiti were finally released in Kuwait with the help of the Soviet weeks in captivity). Under CBS's Bob McKeown ran first for a scoop, CBS, New York with the pool rules and ABC, after much internecine, let Forrest Sawyer break free of the system. His strategy was to hook up with the Saudi and Egyptian forces, which, ironically for countries with rigid anti-press policies, were far more open to coverage than their American counterparts. The result was that ABC was the first network with footage of deserters (well before the ground war), the first (and only) to go along on a bombing mission and the first with pic-

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Gulf service cost some reservists money

BY JANE BRYANT QUINN

THE WAR HOME FRONT

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Normally, reservists' jobs, at least, are safe. When they return, their companies have to rehire them at their old jobs or equal ones, and pay them any raises due. Ditto for enlistees who serve no more than four years. The only exception to these rules might be the company that shrinks. Reservists who'd have lost their jobs if they'd stayed home may find themselves out of work when they're released.

But even getting your office back doesn't always make you whole. Many reservists have to swallow losses in income, benefits and retirement funds.

■ **Income.** No law requires an employer to continue a reservist's pay. A majority of the major firms make up any difference between civilian salary and military pay, but only for short periods. Of 155 such companies responding to a survey by the Reserve Officers Association (ROA), most provide this differential for a mere one week to six months. Fourteen percent pay nothing at all. Only 8 percent keep their people whole for the full term. Had the ROA added small companies to its survey, the percentage paying nothing would have leaped. Ironically, Honda and Toyota are more generous than Chrysler and General Motors.

The stingier your company, the more savings you need if you're in the Reserves or planning to join. The same is true if you run a solo business or professional practice which would lose clients while you're gone. Without a big organization behind you, it's risky to be a reservist at all.

■ **Benefits.** Some employers finance group health insurance for reservists' families; others don't. If the family switches to government insurance, they usually have to use military health facilities—and sometimes pay more of the medical bills than they did under their private plans. By law, companies that employ 20 people or more

have to let reservists keep their employee plans at their expense for up to 18 months—but this perk doesn't come cheap.

As for life insurance, the military offers \$50,000 worth of coverage for just \$4 a month, regardless of age. But that might not be enough to replace a reservist's group insurance if his or her company cancels it. People who join the military Reserve should (1) check on whether their employers will continue group coverage if there's a call-up; (2) buy back-up coverage from an insurer whose policies pay even if they die in war (plenty of such insurance is around); (3) remember that USAA Life in San Antonio sells limited amounts of insurance even to men and women already in a war zone.

■ **Pensions.** If your pension depends on your salary at retirement, a bit of active duty won't hurt. But you'll be docked if you (1) lose some salary during a call-up and (2) your pension is based on each year's pay.

Profit-sharing plans, 401(k) savings and thrift plans also use current pay to establish each year's contribution. If a called-up reservist gets no civilian pay, or reduced pay, the company's contribution drops. A legal argument might be made that this shouldn't happen, says Charles Kerby of

Thank-You Bills

Washington is afloat in proposals that would protect returning reservists from financial loss. Among them:

■ **Health insurance: guaranteed re-entry to former group or individual plan; no waiting period allowed.**

■ **Small Business Administration loans: slow repayment or none for six months after a veteran's return.**

■ **Malpractice insurance: doctors in the gulf pay no premiums and defer all patients' lawsuits while away.**

■ **Government-insured student loans: families can call lenders to get payments deferred automatically.**



MARK PETERS FOR NEWSWEEK

Will the liberators of Kuwait get a break at home?

the consulting firm William M. Mercer. He wouldn't be surprised to see some reservists litigate the issue. One more pension point: while in service you're covered by a military retirement plan. That might cost you your right to contribute to an Individual Retirement Account.

Less debt: On the bright side, reservists save money on debt. If you're called up, the interest on almost all loans drops immediately to 6 percent. That's on car loans, mortgages, business loans, credit cards, lines of credit, even auto leases. (One exception: government-insured student loans.) Lenders can challenge your rate reduction if they think that your income hasn't suffered. But they have to give you the 6 percent and then take their complaint to court. Some banks, says Sydney Hickey of the National Military Family Association, are illegally checking your income first.

Happily, many lenders are more lenient than the law requires. American Express, for one, charges zero additional interest on any balances a reservist carries on an Optima card on the day he or she is called up (although new purchases are billed at regular rates). The Wells Fargo Bank defers principal and interest payments on reservists' existing business and consumer loans.

In Washington, the legislative channels are choking on bills meant to help the troops (chart). A sentimental favorite: a bill to keep single parents, or a pair of parents, out of a war zone. On that I demur. The government should be able to rely on all the people it pays and trains. A reservist unwilling to put his or her family at risk has the ultimate duty to quit.

Associate: VIRGINIA WILSON



RICHARD ELLIS—DOD POOL

The success of leaders like General Powell, son of Jamaican immigrants, has become a model for young blacks in the military

The Battle for Respect

Desert Storm won the military new stature as an institution of opportunity for American blacks

When the prospect of a bloody ground war loomed, many black Americans feared that the first to fall in the desert would be those who are often last to prosper at home—their sons, daughters and spouses. For a group comprising just 12 percent of the U.S. population, the burdens of battle seemed unjustly heavy: the 104,000 blacks in the Kuwaiti theater represented 20 percent of the total U.S. deployment in the gulf. But many of those black troops didn't see it that way. "I don't have time for anything else than looking after my battalion and my men," said Marine Lt. Col. Buster Diggs. "When you have been living like this for six months, numbers and percentages don't mean very much. All I want to do is bring back everybody, black and white."

Victory in the desert won't end the national debate about who fights our wars. But Desert Storm highlighted the military's stature as an institution of opportunity for African-Americans. Up and down the chain of command, the war showcased stalwart models of black achievement, from

THE WAR HOME FRONT

Joint Chiefs Chairman Colin Powell, to deputy Desert Storm commander Gen. Calvin Waller, to three members of the Patriot missile crew decorated for shooting down Scuds over Riyadh. The rigid enforcement of antidiscrimination rules has placed unprecedented numbers of black men and women in positions of power, winning them a legitimacy they find nearly impossible to duplicate outside the service. "The military is so far advanced from the civilian population, it's pathetic," says Sgt. Charles Lewis Davis, an Army recruiter in Los Angeles.

Black gains were hard won. Long before President Truman ordered the integration of U.S. forces in 1948, African-Americans were fighting with distinction in U.S. wars. Still, a 1925 Army study ludicrously asserted that they were cowardly and superstitious. In his new autobiography, Gen. Benjamin O. Davis Jr., commander of the Tuskegee Airmen, the black fighter group that saw action in World War II, wrote: "Combat was not easy, but you could only get killed once. Living with the day-to-day degradation of racism was far more difficult." Integration took hold quietly in the

early cold-war years. But racial strife nearly tore the military apart during the last years of the Vietnam War. One reason was a virtually all-white Army officer corps leading an enlisted force that was 14 percent black.

Conversion to an all-volunteer force in 1973 prompted the Pentagon to make military service more attractive to minor-

Blacks in Uniform

George Bush calls the U.S. military "the greatest equal-opportunity employer around." During World War II, 8.7 percent of American soldiers were black; in Vietnam, 9.8 percent; in the gulf, 20 percent. A breakdown by forces:

| | Percent of blacks in: | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| | Forces | Desert Storm |
| Army | 28.9% | 29.8% |
| Navy | 15.9% | 21.3% |
| Marine Corps | 19% | 16.9% |
| Air Force | 15.2% | 13.5% |

SOURCE: DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

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The earlier you use Rogaine, the better your chances of growing hair.

Rogaine is the only product ever proven to grow hair. And studies show that using it at the first signs of hair loss greatly increases the chances that it will grow hair for you.

What are the early warning signs of losing hair?

Everyone loses a little hair. Fifty to 80 hairs a day is normal. If you're losing more than 100 hairs a day without normal replacement, the first sign will often be thinning of the "crown" at the top of your scalp. See your doctor when you first notice it, because this small bald spot can grow larger over time.



"I may not have grown any hair after 6 months, but most of my hair's stopped falling out. I'm glad I got to the doctor fast."
—Lewis Silva, 20

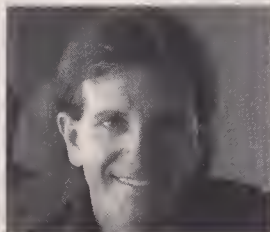
of the men who tried Rogaine saw at least moderate hair regrowth. Thirty-six percent had minimal regrowth and the rest (16%) had no regrowth.

Doctors also found that it took as little as 4 months and as long as 12 months before regrowth began. Side effects were minimal: only 5% of the men tested had itching of the scalp.



"My hair's completely filled in. It started growing in under 2 months. It was amazing! Early treatment...it works!"—Jim Wilets, 30

Two million men worldwide have tried Rogaine. In year-long clinical tests conducted by dermatologists at 27 medical centers nationwide, virtually half (48%)



"The first time I saw hair growing was at about 8 months. I hadn't lost much...but I'm not taking any chances."—Tony Vila

Will Rogaine work for you?

Only your dermatologist or family doctor can tell you, so see one soon. The sooner you get your prescription for Rogaine, the sooner you could be growing hair.

For more information, a list of doctors in your area who can

help you, and a certificate worth \$10 as an incentive to visit your doctor (sorry, this offer is available for men only), call the toll-free number below:

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For a summary of product information, see adjoining page.

Rogaine[®]
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The only product proven to grow hair.

Rogaine
TOPICAL SOLUTION
minoxidil 2%

The only product proven to grow hair.

What is ROGAINE?

ROGAINE Topical Solution, discovered and made by The Upjohn Company, is a standardized topical (for use only on the skin) prescription medication proved effective for the long-term treatment of male pattern baldness of the crown.

ROGAINE is the only topical solution of minoxidil. Minoxidil in tablet form has been used since 1980 to lower blood pressure. The use of minoxidil tablets is limited to treatment of patients with severe high blood pressure. When a high enough dosage in tablet form is used to lower blood pressure, certain effects that merit your attention may occur. These effects appear to be dose related.

Persons who use ROGAINE Topical Solution have a low level of absorption of minoxidil, much lower than that of persons being treated with minoxidil tablets for high blood pressure. Therefore, the likelihood that a person using ROGAINE Topical Solution will develop the effects associated with minoxidil tablets is very small. In fact, none of these effects has been directly attributed to ROGAINE in clinical studies.

How soon can I expect results from using ROGAINE?

Studies have shown that the response to treatment with ROGAINE may vary widely.

Some men receiving ROGAINE may see faster results than others; others may respond with a slower rate of hair growth. You should not expect visible growth in less than four months.

It is supposed to ROGAINE, what will the hair look like?

If you have very little hair and respond to treatment, your first hair growth may be soft, downy, colorless hair that is barely visible. After further treatment the new hair should be the same color and thickness as the other hair on your scalp. If you start with substantial hair, the new hair should be of the same color and thickness as the rest of your hair.

How long do I need to use ROGAINE?

ROGAINE is a treatment, not a cure. If you respond to treatment, you will need to continue using ROGAINE to maintain or increase hair growth. If you do not begin to show a response to treatment with ROGAINE after a reasonable period of time (at least four months or more), your doctor may advise you to discontinue using ROGAINE.

What happens if I stop using ROGAINE? Will I keep the new hair?

If you stop using ROGAINE, you will probably shed the new hair within a few months after stopping treatment.

What is the dosage of ROGAINE?

You should apply a 1 mL dose of ROGAINE two times a day, once in the morning and once at night, before bedtime. Each bottle should last about 30 days (one month). The applicators in each package of ROGAINE are designed to apply the correct amount of ROGAINE with each application. Please refer to the Instructions for Use.

What if I miss a dose or forget to use ROGAINE?

If you miss one or two daily applications of ROGAINE, you should restart your twice-daily application and return to your usual schedule. You should not attempt to make up for missed applications.

Can I use ROGAINE more than twice a day? Will it work faster?

No. Studies by The Upjohn Company have been carefully conducted to determine the correct amount of ROGAINE to use to obtain the most satisfactory results. More frequent applications or use of larger doses (more than one mL twice a day) have not been shown to speed up the process of hair growth and may increase the possibility of side effects.

What are the most common side effects reported in clinical studies with ROGAINE?

Studies of patients using ROGAINE have shown that the most common adverse effects directly attributable to ROGAINE Topical Solution were itching and other skin irritations of the treated area of the scalp. About 5% of patients had these complaints.

Other side effects, including light-headedness, dizziness, and headaches were reported by patients using ROGAINE or placebo (a similar solution without the active medication).

What are some of the side effects people have reported?

The frequency of side effects listed below was similar, except for dermatologic reactions, in the ROGAINE and placebo groups. **Respiratory** (bronchitis, upper respiratory infection, sinusitis); **Dermatologic** (irritant or allergic contact dermatitis, eczema, hypertrichosis, local erythema, pruritus, dry skin/scalp flaking, exacerbation of hair loss, alopecia); **Gastrointestinal** (diarrhea, nausea, vomiting); **Neurology** (headache, dizziness, lightheadedness); **Musculoskeletal** (fractures, back pain, tendinitis); **Cardiovascular** (edema, chest pain, blood pressure increases/decreases, palpitation, pulse rate increases/decreases); **Allergy** (nonspecific allergic reactions, hives, allergic rhinitis, facial swelling and sensitivity); **Special Senses** (conjunctivitis, ear infections, vertigo, visual disturbances, including decreased visual acuity); **Metabolic-Nutritional** (edema, weight gain); **Urinary Tract** (urinary tract infections, renal calculi, urethritis); **Genital Tract** (prostatitis, epididymitis, sexual dysfunction); **Psychiatric** (anxiety, depression, fatigue); **Hematology** (lymphadenopathy, thrombocytopenia); **Endocrine**.

Individuals who are hypersensitive to minoxidil, propylene glycol, or ethanol must not use ROGAINE.

ROGAINE Topical Solution contains alcohol, which could cause burning or irritation of the eyes, mucous membranes, or sensitive skin areas. If ROGAINE accidentally gets into these areas, bathe the area with large amounts of cool tap water. Contact your doctor if irritation persists.

What are the possible side effects that could effect the heart and circulation when using ROGAINE?

Although serious side effects have not been attributed to ROGAINE in clinical studies, there is a possibility that they could occur because the active ingredient in ROGAINE Topical Solution is the same as in minoxidil tablets.

Minoxidil tablets are used to treat high blood pressure. Minoxidil tablets lower blood pressure by relaxing the arteries, an effect called vasodilation. Vasodilation leads to retention of fluid and increased heart rate. The following effects have occurred in some patients taking minoxidil tablets for high blood pressure:

Increased heart rate—Some patients have reported that their resting heart rate increased by more than 20 beats per minute; Rapid weight gain of more than 5 pounds or swelling (edema) of the face, hands, ankles, or stomach area; Difficulty in breathing, especially when lying down, a result of an increase in body fluids or fluid around the heart; Worsening of, or new onset of, angina pectoris.

When ROGAINE Topical Solution is used on normal skin, very little minoxidil is absorbed and the possible effects attributed to minoxidil tablets are not expected with the use of ROGAINE. If, however, you experience any of the possible side effects listed, discontinue use of ROGAINE and consult your doctor. Presumably, such effects would be most likely if greater absorption occurred, e.g., because ROGAINE was used on damaged or inflamed skin or in greater than recommended amounts.

In animal studies, minoxidil, in doses higher than would be obtained from topical use in people, has caused important heart structure damage. This kind of damage has not been seen in humans given minoxidil tablets for high blood pressure at effective doses.

What factors may increase the risk of serious side effects with ROGAINE?

Individuals with known or suspected underlying coronary artery disease or the presence of or predisposition to heart failure would be at particular risk if systemic effects (that is, increased heart rate or fluid retention) of minoxidil were to occur. Physicians, and patients with these kinds of underlying diseases, should be conscious of the potential risk of treatment if they choose to use ROGAINE.

ROGAINE should be applied only to the scalp and should not be used on other parts of the body, because absorption of minoxidil may be increased and the risk of side effects may become greater. You should not use ROGAINE if your scalp becomes irritated or is sunburned, and you should not use it along with other topical treatment medication on your scalp.

Can men with high blood pressure use ROGAINE?

Individuals with hypertension, including those under treatment with antihypertensive agents, can use ROGAINE but should be monitored closely by their doctor. Patients taking guanethidine for high blood pressure should not use ROGAINE.

Should any precautions be followed?

Individuals using ROGAINE should be monitored by their physician one month after starting ROGAINE and at least every six months afterward. Discontinue ROGAINE if systemic effects occur.

Do not use it in conjunction with other topical agents such as corticosteroids, retinoids and petrolatum or agents that enhance percutaneous absorption. ROGAINE is for topical use only. Each mL contains 20 mg minoxidil and accidental ingestion could cause adverse systemic effects.

No carcinogenicity was found with topical application. ROGAINE should not be used by pregnant women or by nursing mothers. The effects on labor and delivery are not known. Pediatric use: Safety and effectiveness has not been established under age 18.

Caution: Federal law prohibits dispensing without a prescription. You must see a doctor to receive a prescription.

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ities. Ambitious racial-sensitivity programs were launched to limit tensions. Naval enlistees now share prejudices and perceptions in blunt, compulsory seminars. At West Point, first-year cadets watch a Bill Cosby film on bigotry and follow up with discussions on other "isms" like sexism and ethnocentrism. The message hammered home is clear: any whiff of discriminatory behavior can be a career killer. "You can't expect to change people's minds overnight. If you do have prejudices, though, you better hide them in a heartbeat," says West Point First Class Cadet Rory Anglin.

Civilian critics say African-American soldiers were victims of an "economic draft"—forced to volunteer as a last refuge from poverty and crime—and blacks supported the war at a far lower rate than whites. But blacks in uniform argue that their military experience speaks to the possibilities, not problems, of black advancement. They see no comparable prescriptives in the civilian world. "What are our leaders doing in our communities to get our young black males off drugs? What are they doing to keep them in school or from dying in the streets?" asks Waller, 53, who enlisted in 1957. Some bristle at the condescension implicit in antiwar rhetoric that suggested black soldiers were underclass cannon fodder, thrust into the gulf conflict to fight a war for the privileged. They say it devalues their intelligence and patriotism. "The question we need to be asking as a society is how we have raised two generations of white middle-class youth who have no sense of service to their country," says John Sibley Butler, a black military sociologist at the University of Texas.

'Fair shake': At home and on the front lines, African-American troops say military culture gives them genuine authority in a white-majority organization. "The Army is the only place in America where a white will routinely be bossed around by black superiors," says Charles Moskos, a military sociologist at Northwestern University. A typical platoon leader, at the age of 22, commands 30 people and \$1 million worth of sophisticated equipment. "I've been shown respect, if not for me then for my rank," says Army Capt. Jacqueline Jackson. Many blacks point to Powell, a son of Jamaican immigrants with a public-school education, as an example of what's attainable for blacks. "That brother came a long way," says Remon Allen, an 18-year-old from Chicago who planned to enlist. "He started out just how I did ... In the military, we've got a fair shake."

Even those who already have a foothold in the middle class find that a uniform blunts the sting of discrimination. Six years ago Mark Bright, the son of a Washington, D.C., dentist, had a bachelor's degree and a bank job. After rejection from a management-training program—for what

he believes were racial reasons—he joined the Navy. He's now a lieutenant on the guided-missile cruiser USS Gridley. "I've lived on both sides of the fence," says Bright, 31. "The Navy is by far a less racially motivated lifestyle."

The terror of combat, where life or death can ride on the actions of comrades, further shrinks racial divisions. "You know the saying, 'There's no atheists in a foxhole'?" Well, there's no racists in a foxhole either," says Marine S/Sgt. Bruce Shaw, part of the Desert Storm ground force. But Shaw concedes that racist attitudes remain. "You still have to deal with that hard-core 10 percent who will never change no matter what," he says. Shaw says he left his last unit because a senior NCO was "down on blacks." Off duty, military culture resembles the civilian world, with little socializing between races. "I don't hang out with any white officers. I don't know any black officers who do. And I don't know any whites who hang out with blacks," says Marine Capt. Phillip Thompson.

'Glass ceilings': Serious obstacles still hinder African-American progress. Their representation remains heaviest in low-skill, nontechnical jobs. Forty-three years after the military's desegregation, the officer corps is still largely white. Eighteen percent of the enlisted Navy is black, while 96 percent of its officers are white. In the Army, where three in 10 enlistees are African-American, 11 percent of the officers are black. Advances in the ranks are obstructed by "glass ceilings," where networking and old-boyism still speed the advance of mediocre whites. "You see it all over the place," says Thompson. "There's a feeling that you have to be not just as good but better in order to get a promotion." General Waller warns young officers that the playing field is not level. "If you are a black officer, you don't get many second chances," he says. Manpower cutbacks in the post-Desert Storm military are likely to put an added squeeze on opportunities for advancement.

Those who do make it to the top can't count on moving into the kinds of lucrative civilian jobs available to white counterparts. A recent survey of 30 retired black generals found just one had landed a top private position. Col. James Jones, the Army's congressional liaison in the late 1980s, recalls when retired four-star Gen. Roscoe Robinson came to his office in search of a job. "I remember taking him to Capitol Hill and very few people knew who he was," says Jones. "It was very deflating." It's also a stark reminder that for all their achievements, black soldiers still face their fiercest battle—one for acceptance in the society they took an oath to serve.

BILL TURQUE with RAY WILKINSON and C. S. MANEGOLD in the gulf, MARCUS MABRY in Washington, ANDREW MURR in Los Angeles, HOWARD MANLY in Atlanta, KAREN SPRINGEN in Chicago and bureau reports

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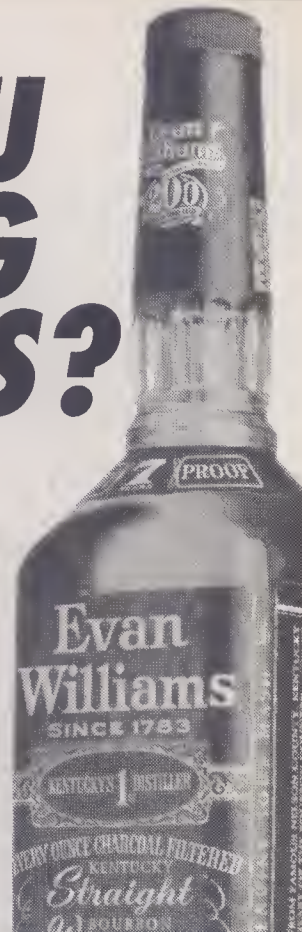
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Avoiding the Next Crisis

America should learn from mistakes that made Saddam's invasion possible

In all the euphoria over America's triumph in the gulf, one thing shouldn't be forgotten: this war could have been avoided. If Western states hadn't helped arm Iraq to the teeth, if Washington hadn't misjudged Saddam's designs on Kuwait, if Americans weren't so hooked on cheap Middle Eastern oil, the United States might not have had to send over a half-million troops to fight Operation Desert Storm. Once Iraq did invade its neighbor and refused to budge in the face of sanctions and global condemnation, the coalition forces had little choice but to go to war. The decisive victory and minimal casualties are a tribute to allied strategy. But Washington and its partners will have to study more than military lessons if they want to avoid similar crises in the future.

They will need to rethink the shortsighted policies that helped create a bully like Saddam and made the West so vulnerable to his intimidation. Some of the necessary measures will mean higher costs for consumers and fewer exports for U.S. businesses; others will require that everyone from members of Congress to turf-conscious bureaucrats rise above narrow self-interest. Yet those costs are small compared with the economic and military price that Americans have paid for the mistakes of the past—and may have to pay again in the future if steps aren't taken to correct them.

1 THE ARMS BAZAAR

In his victory briefing last week, Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf said that he didn't think the Iraqis had enough firepower left to pose a regional threat "unless someone chooses to rearm them in the future." It was a pointed reminder of how much the countries that fought Saddam did to arm him in the first place. In a buying spree that lasted much of the '80s, Iraq bought Mirage fighters and Exocet missiles from France, mines from Italy, radar from Brazil, tanks and artillery from China and weapons parts from U.S. companies. German firms sold Baghdad everything from munitions to communications gear, helped construct chemical-weapons plants, upgraded Scud missiles and built Saddam's bunkers. In all, West European exporters supplied Iraq with some \$13.4 billion worth of military hardware between 1982 and 1989. The intended victims—Kuwait and Saudi Arabia—provided much of the financing.

To keep Saddam or any other menace from acquiring that kind



BILL GENTILE—DOD POOL FOR NEWSWEEK

Troops from the 101st Airborne storming into Iraq

THE WAR LOOKING AHEAD

of war machine again, there must be new limits on arms exports to the Middle East and other Third World hot spots. Getting international cooperation for that effort won't be easy. Some poorer exporters depend on arms sales for survival. (As Marie-France Garaud, director of France's International Institute of Geopolitics, puts it, "For some of these countries, if they don't sell arms they only have pineapples.") Weapons exports are also vital to richer countries like France, where arms makers employ some 600,000 workers, and could become increasingly important for U.S. firms if projected defense cuts are carried out.

Some coalition members have already announced plans to crack down on their arms exports. The Bush administration is scheduled this week to unveil an "Enhanced Proliferation Control Act" aimed at restricting sales of sensitive materials like sodium sulfide, a chemical used to make nerve gas. Deeply embarrassed about German links to Saddam, Bonn has proposed new legislation that would demand government approval for all exports with potential military uses and impose 10-year prison terms for any violations of U.N. sanctions. As well meaning as they might be, however, unilateral actions aren't enough. As a spokeswoman for the National Association of Manufacturers puts it, "If there's one rule in export controls, it's multilateral, multilateral, multilateral."

What's needed is an international organization with the authority to monitor arms sales, issue export guidelines and punish violators. The best available model is the Coordinating Committee on Exports Controls (COCOM), the U.S.-led organization formed to track sales of sensitive technology to the East bloc. Like COCOM, this new body could require unanimous approval from its members for certain sales or export licenses, and also regulate "dual

use" technologies that can be employed for both military and nonmilitary purposes. To give the body even more clout, the United States could demand that all violators be punished with trade embargoes. It could press the wealthy Arabs and others to put up development aid to make it worthwhile for poor countries to cut back on arms sales. As one price for their support, many Third World countries would undoubtedly demand that all potential arms buyers (meaning Israel) be treated equally.

Such an organization couldn't realistically monitor all military exports everywhere in the world. That's a good argument for focusing on "choke point" exports—the kinds of technology that make arsenals effective. Low-tech chemical and biological weapons aren't very effective without "delivery systems" to launch them over long distances. As a top priority, an arms-sale watchdog should focus on missile technology, argues Herbert Wulf of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. (Before trying to form a new COCOM, Wulf would beef up the Missile Technology Control Regime, a four-year-old agreement between the Group of Seven nations.) Nuclear proliferation is also an ideal candidate for the choke-point approach: Paul Leventhal, president of the Nuclear Control Institute, says the best way to shut the door to the nuclear club is to ban exports of plutonium and enriched uranium.

The obstacles to breaking up the arms bazaar shouldn't be minimized. In Washington alone, jurisdiction over military exports is divided among more than a dozen overlapping agencies, most staffed by people with scant technological expertise. (Testifying before Congress recently, Stephen Bryan, a hawkish former Defense Department official, complained about "insensitive bureaucrats who would not be able to tell the difference between a chemical-weapons aerosol and an underarm deodorant.") Any time limits on U.S. exports are proposed, Congress comes under

intense pressure from lobbyists and constituents. Getting the Soviets on board for a battle against arms sales may be impossible, given their hunger for hard currency. Yet if creating a watchdog with sharp teeth isn't realistic, even a louder bark would help. Had such a group existed in the '80s, it might have called more attention to Saddam's arms buildup and forced the countries that fed it to address the possible consequences of their actions.

THE OIL WAR

Over the past 20 years, U.S. foreign policy has been an almost constant captive to crises in the Middle East. First there was the 1973 Yom Kippur war and the OPEC oil embargo; then Afghanistan and the second oil shock of 1979; then the Iranian hostage crisis; then Lebanon; now the showdown with Saddam. Although other issues (Israel's survival, in particular) were at stake in these conflicts, there is one key reason Washington has spent so much time, money and blood trying to maintain order in the world's most disorderly region: the American dependence on oil. Despite all the energy plans and conservation efforts of the past two decades, Americans still import more than 40 percent of their oil from the Middle East, relying on it to power cars, run factories and produce goods considered crucial to the "quality of life."

Since the Middle East isn't going to become an island of stability any time soon, Americans finally need to get serious about reducing their economic vulnerability to its upheavals. Too often, this debate focuses on solar power and other "alternative energy" sources that aren't likely to put a real dent in oil consumption for decades. As a practical matter, the United States could reduce oil use significantly by continuing the switch to natural gas—which is abundant in stable regions around the world. By the year 2010, gas could account for 30 percent of world energy demand, up from 20

percent today, with the conversion of more industrial boilers and generators and the introduction of gas-based fuels, estimates energy analyst Jonathan Stern of the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London. Americans should also be willing to reopen the emotional debate about nuclear energy. France uses it safely. It's an example worth studying.

At the same time, we shouldn't be under illusions that we can live without oil. We need to ensure secure supplies of oil—and that means encouraging more domestic production. President Bush's new energy plan proposes to do this mostly by abolishing government regulations, like the ban on drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. It fails to confront a fundamental problem: the gap between what oil costs on the world market and what it costs to produce domestically. The surest way to close that gap is to impose a surcharge on oil imports. Some experts peg the "break-even point"—the price at which it makes sense for domestic companies to keep making long-term investments in new drilling—at about \$25 a barrel; the levy could vary depending on how far that exceeds the going world price. Bush's advisers and other free-trade economists consider such protectionism heresy. But oil supplies aren't just a matter of economics but of national security: if low international prices force too many U.S. producers out of business, it may be impossible to make up shortfalls in times of international crisis.

The other element lacking from the president's energy proposal is any real encouragement to conserve oil. In short, it dodges the need for a gasoline tax charged at the pump. Administration officials and congressmen alike run from that proposal because of voter abhorrence of taxes. But a gas tax is another way to keep prices high enough that consumers have a long-term incentive to cut gasoline use. At current prices, a 20 percent tax would raise the cost of gas to no more than \$1.50 a gallon—a level consumers have already learned to live with, and still much less than Europeans pay. (A 25-cent-per-gallon gas tax could also cut the federal deficit by some \$22 billion.)

The aim should be to find a reasonable mix of all these measures and to impose them gradually so as not to disrupt the economy. Tax rebates and special breaks on import duties could be granted to low-income Americans, farmers or anyone else who would be hit particularly hard. In fact, it's vital that no one absorb too much of the pain, so the plan can command broad-based support. One lesson of U.S. energy policy over the past 15 years, which has lurched from Jimmy Carter's overregulation to the pell-mell deregulation of Ronald Reagan, is that no plan can succeed if it's seen as inequitable. Yet it's also high time Americans started viewing the war against oil dependence the way they see military conflicts: as a fight demanding sacrifices from everyone.

THE INTELLIGENCE GAP

Iraq's military rout has made almost everyone in the Bush administration look good—except a slender, 49-year-old woman who works behind a desk in the State Department. She's April Glaspie, the U.S. ambassador to Baghdad who dutifully carried out State Department policy: a week before Iraq's invasion she told Saddam that "we have no opinion on the Arab-Arab conflict, like your border disagreement with Kuwait." She then went on vacation just before the Iraqi tanks rolled. That conversation

has been widely cited as evidence of a massive U.S. intelligence failure. In fact, the CIA had been studying satellite photos showing tens of thousands of Iraqi troops massing on the Kuwaiti border. But it calculated that Saddam was only bluffing, or at worst that he would only make a limited grab for the oil-rich islands off Kuwait.

Washington didn't fail to anticipate Iraq's full-scale invasion because of a breakdown in "tech int"—technical intelligence. (During the battle, U.S. satellite photography was so good that American planes were able to drop leaflets on Iraqi forces that identified brigades and divisions by name.) What Washington lacked was adequate "humint"—human intelligence—and analysis of technical data. In part, the brutality of Saddam's rule made it difficult to penetrate his government and develop sources among his people. But U.S. policymakers—Secretary of State James Baker, in particular—were so preoccupied with the end of the cold war in Europe that they failed to pay attention to the warning signals. American officials also didn't pay enough heed to history: Baghdad has menaced Kuwait with invasion since the 1960s, when an Arab League Force was formed to keep Iraqi leader Abdul Karim Kassem from carrying out that threat.

Some of the steps needed to improve U.S. intelligence in the Middle East are as simple as recruiting more Arabic-speaking agents and offering more rewards to "regionalists" in the Foreign Service, instead of favoring "generalists" schooled mostly in the East-West conflict. On an intellectual level, U.S. policymakers also need to transcend the two partisan—and conflicting—schools of thought that have dominated American thinking about the Middle East. On one side are analysts who view all developments in terms of their impact on Israel; on the other, "Arabists" who warn that tilting toward Israel and ignoring Palestinian grievances invites perpetual unrest. The war against Saddam has shown that "the Arab world" is much less monolithic and predictable than either school contends, and it should encourage a greater appreciation of the area's complexities.



GREG ENGLISH—AP

Kuwaiti oil well set ablaze by retreating Iraqi troops

It's time to view the war on oil dependence like a military conflict: as a fight demanding shared sacrifices

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4 THE IMBALANCE OF POWER

If the Bush administration didn't make better use of raw information about Saddam's buildup, says one U.S. intelligence analyst, it was above all because "we just didn't want to believe that Iraq could do bad things." The reason for that suspension of disbelief during much of the 1980s was that America saw Iran as the major threat in the region. It was a classic case of "the enemy of my enemy is my friend," and Washington was preoccupied with the enemy that had taken U.S. diplomats hostage and declared holy war on the Great Satan. That policy led Americans to turn a blind eye to Saddam's human-rights abuses, share intelligence photographs with him during the Iran-Iraq War and sell him everything from the grain that helped feed his troops to equipment that helped enlarge his arsenal. As recently as April 1989, Consarc Corp., a New Jersey company, cabled the U.S. Embassy in Baghdad to report that the Iraqi government wanted to buy seven high-temperature furnaces—purchases that the Defense Department later concluded could be used to make military hardware and nuclear components. The embassy cabled back: "Hooray for you."

In the flush of the victory over Iraq, Washington and the allies need to promote a balance of forces in the Middle East that won't allow any one country to become so militarily dominant again. That means leaving Baghdad with enough forces to defend itself. U.S. and European sources in Riyadh last week estimated that Iraq still has some 15 to 20 divisions along its border with Iran and Turkey, and an additional 25,000 to 30,000 security forces in Baghdad. With most of its tanks, planes and artillery pieces gone, that's enough for Iraq to protect itself but not to pose an offensive threat to any of its neighbors. In the passion of the moment, many Americans may want to see Iraq's military eliminated altogether. Yet as Robert Hunter, a member of the National Security Council under Jimmy Carter, points out, the tilt against Iran in the '80s shows what can happen when we "let emotions get ahead of U.S. national interest." Schwarzkopf had it right in his briefing: destroying any more of Saddam's forces would "not [be] in the best interest of peace in this part of the world."

Showing mercy may not keep Iraq from falling apart on its own. Already some analysts are warning that it might disintegrate into a new Lebanon, creating a "power vacuum" that an ambitious neighbor might be tempted to fill. In the short term, that scenario seems unlikely. Iran, Syria and Turkey all have made claims to Iraqi territory in the past. But even if a power struggle were to erupt inside Iraq, all three countries would be too fearful of U.S. forces, one another and the Kurds that live on their borders with Iraq to do anything rash. Operation Desert Storm leaves the moderate Arab states that fought alongside the United States, particularly Saudi Arabia and Egypt, as the strongest powers in the region. Their moves after the war are likely to remain limited to manning peacekeeping forces and funding regional development programs through the Gulf Cooperation Council.

Still, the history of the Middle East suggests that it won't be long before some leader tries to establish his country as the new regional powerhouse. Last week officials in both Washington and Saudi Arabia praised Iranian leader Ali Akbar Rafsanjani for keeping his country on the sidelines during the war. But Rafsanjani may not survive forever, and if a more fundamentalist regime were to come to power, it would inherit a still formidable military force—one that has only been strengthened by the 137 Iraqi planes that crossed the border during the war, which Iran isn't expected to give back. Syria's Hafez Assad has lost much of his Soviet support and is widely perceived as a pragmatist who doesn't pick unnecessary fights. But he has already gained de facto control over Lebanon and is a shrewd enough politician to

be constantly looking for ways to expand his sphere of influence.

The very unpredictability of the region makes it imperative that Washington spend less time trying to choose friends and enemies and more time "standing in the middle and tilting the seesaw," as Yahya Sadowski of the Brookings Institution puts it. In doing so, it should keep two lessons of this war in mind. One is that the Soviets aren't likely to see eye to eye with Americans on the Middle East, even if overall superpower relations remain strong. In the long run, Moscow's policy may be increasingly affected by the growing militance of the Soviet Muslim population—and that could cause a tilt toward radical elements in the region. The other is that a balance of power doesn't—and shouldn't—mean you have to wink at the domestic repression of your "allies." Doing so can leave you unprepared for domestic uprisings, as it did in the shah's Iran, Marcos's Philippines and Somoza's Nicaragua. Or it can blind you to a leader's true nature and ambitions. If Washington had paid more attention to the way Saddam gassed his Kurds in 1988, it might not have discounted his threats against Kuwait in 1990.

5 THE NEW WORLD ORDER

The most positive diplomatic lesson to emerge from the war against Saddam is that international police forces can work. Ever since Woodrow Wilson, American leaders have preached collective security, but George Bush succeeded in putting it into action. Now there's hopeful talk about making this kind of cooperation permanent. The president has talked of a "new world order"—a sketchy phrase by which he seems to mean a system with many global cops and Washington acting as precinct captain. Italy's foreign minister, Gianni De Michelis, has advocated trying to create a new structure for the Middle East modeled on the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the East-West forum for "confidence building" measures. Under De Michelis's plan, the superpowers and as many as 40 Mideast and European countries would endorse principles like the sanctity of borders and meet regularly to make sure no one was violating them.

The truce in the cold war and Bush's remarkable personal rapport with so many world leaders make the prospects for global peacekeeping efforts better than they have ever been in history. Yet realism suggests that Washington should approach future coalitions on a case-by-case basis, rather than relying on the gulf alliance as a model. Few other menaces will be as easy to gang up on as Saddam. Moscow, which almost split the coalition in the last weeks of the war, may be even less reliable in future conflicts, either because of diverging interests or domestic political developments. The two countries Washington asked to foot a large part of the bill for Operation Desert Storm, Japan and Germany, don't have much of a stomach for international leadership. As Dietrich Stobbe, a high-ranking member of Germany's opposition Social Democratic Party, puts it, "The world demands that we behave as a great power, but we do not know how to do so. Worse, we don't want to."

The United States does know how to behave as a great power. Operation Desert Storm proved it. But to maintain the good will and credibility it amassed in the desert, America will also have to show that it can provide leadership in taking the tough steps needed to maintain the peace. No amount of vigilance can spare the world from destructive dictators. As one European diplomat based in Riyadh put it last week, the best way to ensure peace is: "Don't let people like Saddam run countries." We can't do that, but we can try to do the next best thing: make sure they never get powerful enough to overrun anyone else's country.

MARK WHITAKER with DOUGLAS WALLER and DANIEL GLICK in Washington, C. S. MANEGOLD in Riyadh, MELINDA LIU in Amman, MICHAEL MEYER in Bonn and bureau reports

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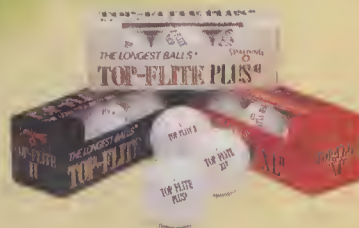


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WIN A SPOT IN THE PRO-AM AT PINEHURST

Each Sunday during CBS® golf coverage, we'll be making a random telephone call to a Fairway Fantasy participant who has entered that week. If you're able to correctly answer a question about the televised action, you'll become one of up to 14 finalists who have a chance to win a spot in the exclusive Pro-Am at the TOUR CHAMPIONSHIP, the grand finale event of the PGA Tour. Winner gets to play with the top 30 money winners on the famous Pinehurst #2 course. To qualify, call 1-900-454-GOLF and sign up for Fairway Fantasy. You must be 18 or older to play. There is a charge of \$2.00 for the first minute and \$1.50 for each additional minute.

OVER 500 PRIZES AWARDED EVERY WEEK

Win A Hyatt Resorts® Getaway To The Ultimate 19th Hole.

GRAND PRIZE

The contestant with the lowest cumulative score for any combination of nine weeks wins a two-week stay for four to feel the Hyatt Touch at a selected Hyatt Resort by flying the Friendly Skies of United Airlines. The winner and three friends will also be outfitted with a complete set of Top-Flite golf equipment and will receive personal golf instruction from a Top-Flite staff professional.

WEEKLY PRIZES

Each week for 18 weeks of Fairway Fantasy, the participant with the lowest weekly score wins a one-week stay for two to feel the Hyatt Touch at a selected Hyatt Resort by flying the Friendly Skies of United Airlines. They will also receive a set of Spalding® golf



Feel The Hyatt Touch.™

clubs and a Top-Flite golf bag. The weekly second place finisher will win a weekend golf getaway to a selected Hyatt Resort via United Airlines. Third place

finisher wins a set of Spalding golf clubs and a Top-Flite golf bag (a \$750 value). Fourth wins a Top-Flite Staff tour bag (a \$225 value). Fifth through 10th wins a Top-Flite metal wood (a \$120 value). Eleventh through 25th wins a dozen Top-Flite golf balls (a \$20 value). And twenty-sixth through 50th wins a Top-Flite visor (a \$10 value).

INSTANT WIN

Every time you call Fairway Fantasy, you have a chance to be an instant winner. You will be notified during the call, whether you have been randomly selected to win one of 500 prizes a week.

FRIENDLY SKIES

Grab your clubs and fly the Friendly Skies of United Airlines with more flights to Hawaii than any other airline.



EVENTS ON CBS

Be sure to tune to CBS for live coverage of 14 of the 18 PGA Tour competitions in Fairway Fantasy.

Next Tournament on CBS: April 20 - 21
MCI Heritage Classic 4:00 - 6:00 p.m.
3:00 - 6:00 p.m.



All Times Eastern

Pushing for Peace and Power

Middle East nations jockey for the spoils of war



CHIP HIRES—G. MERILLON—GAMMA-LIAISON

Allied troops triumphantly enter Kuwait on the second day of the ground war

The Middle East diplomatic bazaar, closed for the duration of the gulf war, is open for business once again. Secretary of State James Baker outlined his bid to win the peace several weeks ago: a four-point agenda that called for talks on gulf security, arms control, economic development and Arab-Israeli issues—especially the smoldering question of the Palestinians. This week Baker will go to the region to find out how the war may have changed old attitudes on all sides. The diplomatic dickering ahead could determine whether the conflict has been a turning point in the history of a perennially violent area—or just another chapter in its dreary record of violence.

For his part, Baker is trying to inject a note of realism into postwar expectations. "You're not going to make progress on Arab-Israeli peace unless the parties themselves really want to make progress," he said last week. In fact, Baker is already hitting snags. The gulf Arabs balk at the idea of a regional development bank for fear their money will wind up in pro-Saddam Jordan. And NEWSWEEK has learned U.S. intelligence analysts see signs Iraq may be on its way to Lebanonization at the hands of hostile neighbors. Both Iran and Syria have infiltrated armed Iraqi exiles to foment unrest. Iran has sent 3,000 armed Kurdish and Shiite

rebels, according to the intelligence estimates.

Baker wants to see how serious Israel is about peace and whether Arabs have ideas for replacing the discredited Palestine Liberation Organization as the Palestinians' interlocutor. "We're not going out with a blueprint," one senior U.S. official says. "The question of what is possible is a very open question right now." Israel and the Arabs will be sizing Baker up too. Both feel the United States is in their debt. By not retaliating against Iraq, Israel believes it can ask for \$13 billion in U.S. aid

over the next five years. By sending 40,000 troops to fight alongside the Americans, Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak has already earned \$7 billion in U.S. debt relief. He is first in line for funds from the grateful gulf Arabs, and Egypt will participate in an Arab peacekeeping force for Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. But Egypt, bidding for leadership of the Arab world, wants one more reward from the United States: pressure on Israel to deal with the Palestinians.

No concessions: Israel is already resisting the pressure. Palestinian support for Saddam, dramatized by cheering on the West Bank in favor of some 40 Iraqi Scud missile attacks on Israeli civilians, has hardened attitudes toward the Arabs in Israel. And the government of Yitzhak Shamir will press that case to Baker, arguing that the war proved instability in the Middle East comes from erratic Arab states, not Israeli occupation. Far from feeling obliged to make concessions to the Palestinians, Shamir wants the United States to push for Arab recognition of Israel. Says Foreign Minister David Levy: "The United States must tell them this is the last war, and that they must talk with Israel."

The catch, of course, is that state-to-state

talks won't be possible if Israel doesn't move simultaneously on the Palestinian front. Still, the United States hopes the moderate Arab states will now feel confident enough to deal with Israel. "We are talking about two tracks, and they have to move together," said a senior State Department aide. "One isn't formally condi-

tioned on the other. But as a practical political matter, to make progress on one you have to make progress on the other." Israel and Syria, which have already been tacitly cooperating against the PLO in Lebanon, have been hinting at talks about the Golan Heights, which Israel captured from Syria in 1967. The Saudis have hinted at ending their state of war with Israel. If they do, other gulf countries would follow suit.

Syria's wily leader, Hafez Assad, looms as a potential spoiler. He has already been paid off handsomely for his stand against Iraq: the gulf Arabs have committed billions in much-needed cash; Washington gave him international respectability and turned a blind eye to his absorption of Lebanon. But he is unlikely to acquiesce as Mubarak emerges as the U.S.-anointed leader of the Arab world—a title to which Assad himself has long aspired. Despite hints at rapprochement with Israel, he could set himself up as a new avatar of Arab radicalism if he doesn't get satisfaction on the Golan Heights.

Assad can be expected to act in tandem with Iran, his ally against Saddam Hussein for more than 10 years. The gulf war has helped Iran break more than a decade

THE WAR LOOKING AHEAD

OPINION WATCH

A Loss of Face

Baghdad radio claims Iraq was victorious in the gulf war. Do you think Arabs generally will see Saddam Hussein as more or less of a hero now?

17% More

73% Less

From the NEWSWEEK Poll of March 1, 1991

PGA TOUR TOP MONEY WINNERS

In Alphabetical Order

| | |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| John Adams | Neal Lancaster |
| Fulton Allem | Wayne Levi |
| Michael Allen | Bruce Lietzke |
| Billy Andrade | Bob Lohr |
| Tommy Armour III | Davis Love III |
| Emlyn Aubrey | Steve Lowery |
| Paul Azinger | Mark Lye |
| Ian Baker-Finch | Andrew Magee |
| Seve Ballesteros | John Mahaffey |
| Dave Barr | Billy Mayfair |
| Andy Bean | Blaine McCallister |
| Chip Beck | Mark McCumber |
| Jim Benepe | Pat McGowan |
| Phil Blackmar | Rocco Mediate |
| Jay Don Blake | Larry Mize |
| Jim Booros | Tommy Moore |
| Bill Britton | Gil Morgan |
| Mark Brooks | Jodie Mudd |
| Billy Ray Brown | Larry Nelson |
| Brad Bryant | Jack Nicklaus |
| George Burns | Greg Norman |
| Clark Burroughs | Andy North |
| Bill Buttner | Jose-Maria Olazabal |
| Curt Byrum | Mark O'Meara |
| Tom Byrum | Steve Pate |
| Mark Calcavecchia | Corey Pavin |
| David Canipe | David Peoples |
| Brian Claar | Chris Perry |
| Keith Clearwater | Kenny Perry |
| Lennie Clements | Peter Persons |
| Russ Cochran | Don Pooley |
| John Cook | Nick Price |
| Fred Couples | Dillard Pruitt |
| Ben Crenshaw | Tom Purtzer |
| Jay Delsing | Mike Reid |
| Clark Dennis | Larry Rinker |
| Trevor Dodds | Loren Roberts |
| Mike Donald | Eduardo Romero |
| Ed Dougherty | Dave Rummells |
| Bob Eastwood | Bill Sander |
| David Edwards | Gene Sauers |
| Joel Edwards | Ted Schulz |
| Dave Eichelberger | Peter Senior |
| Steve Elkington | Tom Sieckmann |
| Bob Estes | Tony Sills |
| Brad Fabel | Scott Simpson |
| Nick Faldo | Tim Simpson |
| Brad Faxon | Joey Sindelar |
| Rick Fehr | Jeff Sluman |
| Ray Floyd | Mike Smith |
| Ed Fiori | Craig Stadler |
| Dan Forsman | Payne Stewart |
| David Frost | Ray Stewart |
| Fred Funk | Curtis Strange |
| Jim Gallagher, Jr. | Mike Sullivan |
| Robert Gamez | Hal Sutton |
| Buddy Gardner | Brian Tennyson |
| Bob Gilder | Leonard Thompson |
| Bill Glasson | Jim Thorpe |
| Wayne Grady | Kirk Triplett |
| Ken Green | Bob Tway |
| Jay Haas | Doug Tewell |
| Jim Hallet | Howard Twitty |
| Donnie Hammond | Stan Utley |
| Morris Hatafsky | Scott Verplank |
| Mark Hayes | Bobby Wadkins |
| Nolan Henke | Lanny Wadkins |
| Scott Hoch | Tom Watson |
| Mike Hulbert | D. A. Weirberg |
| John Huston | Jeff Wilson |
| John Inman | Mark Wiebe |
| David Ishii | Bob Wolcott |
| Hale Irwin | Willie Wood |
| Peter Jacobsen | Jim Woodward |
| Lee Janzen | Ian Woosnam |
| Steve Jones | Robert Wrenn |
| Tom Kite | Fuzzy Zoeller |
| Kenny Knox | Richard Zokol |

The above is the 1990 PGA Tour Money List, as of October 5, 1990. No endorsement of Fairway Fantasy or any sponsor of Fairway Fantasy by any players should be implied.

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TEE OFF

For Fairway Fantasy, you don't need a card to play on the PGA Tour. You just need a Touch-Tone phone. To enter, call 1-900-454-GOLF anytime, except Monday mornings between 12 a.m. and 3 a.m. Eastern time. You will receive a complete information package that will help you play the game. You must be 18 or older to play. There is a charge of \$2.00 for the first minute and \$1.50 for each additional minute. If you hang up in the first 16 seconds, there is no charge. The average game-playing time lasts approximately six minutes. Registration takes two to three minutes.



ON THE TOUR

Each week, you'll have a chance to challenge a different PGA Tour tournament hole. During your call, you'll be given a complete choice of clubs. You'll select a hitting direction and a hitting power level. You can even practice on a driving range. But you can only play each fantasy hole once. You'll also be asked to select three player/partners from the list of PGA Tour Top Money Winners. To enter your selection, simply punch in their first and last initials on your Touch-Tone phone.



SCORE CARD

Three separate factors contribute to your weekly Fairway Fantasy score. The first factor is your own score on the Fairway Fantasy hole. The second factor is the actual combined score posted during the last fully-completed round by your three PGA Tour player/partners on the Fairway Fantasy hole. And the third factor is the combined 18-hole score posted by your three PGA Tour player/partners during the last fully-completed round. The scores are then weighted with your performance on the fantasy hole becoming the most important element in the overall score.

SPECIAL SUBSCRIPTION OFFER

Call 1-800-634-6848 for details about a great offer and a free gift from Newsweek® magazine specially for Fairway Fantasy participants. For your special subscription offer and free gift, call Monday through Friday 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. Eastern time.

Newsweek

RULE BOOK

1. **ELIGIBILITY:** You must be a U.S. resident 18 or older to play. Void where prohibited. This contest begins February 18, 1991 at 8 a.m. Eastern and ends August 25, 1991.

2. **NO PURCHASE NECESSARY** to enter or claim prize: Each week you may obtain a special calling card that allows you to make a toll-free call to play Fairway Fantasy. Just mail a self-addressed, stamped envelope to: Fairway Fantasy, P.O. Box 34984, Omaha, NE 68134. Residents in Vermont and Washington don't need to include postage. The card will contain a personal identification number (PIN) with an 800 telephone number. Each PIN is valid for one free phone call. You may request as many PINs as you wish as long as they're separately mailed. All requests received by Thursday will be processed and mailed Friday for delivery the following week. The 800 number and PIN are valid through Saturday of the following week. The expiration date is printed on the calling card. The 800 number offers the following options only: registration, fantasy hole play, partner selections, review of previous week's score and current rankings.

Sponsor not responsible for late, lost, damaged or misdirected mail.

Contestants are eligible to win the top weekly prize only once. If a contestant finishes in the top weekly position more than once, the prize will be awarded to the next highest finisher.

Contestants who do not play a particular fantasy hole will automatically have three strokes added to their overall score. If one of the contestant's player/partners fail to compete in the final completed round of a tournament, the contestant will automatically receive three additional strokes for the player/partner's fantasy hole and eight strokes for the player/partner's

18-hole score. Normal weighting is then added as described in the Score Card section.

In the event of a tie for the grand prize or any of the weekly prizes, the winner will be randomly selected from among the tied finalists. Pro-Am winner will be determined by random drawing among the semi-finalists. Prize includes travel and accommodations.

CBS, Hyatt Resorts and United Airlines are not sponsors of the Fairway Fantasy game. Neither is it sponsored nor endorsed by the PGA Tour.

Hyatt Resorts is responsible only for the prizes it is providing and is responsible for providing room nights, including taxes, only as a prize. Winners shall be responsible for all other costs, including gratuities, food and beverages at selected resort hotels.

In the event a tournament cannot be completed, the last completed round will be used for scoring purposes.

Neither Sponsor nor its service providers are responsible for incorrect or inaccurate entry information whether caused by the caller or by any of the equipment or programming associated with this contest.

The customer service number for the Fairway Fantasy game is 1-800-468-7351. Hours are from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. Eastern. To receive a copy of the complete official rules, call the customer service number.

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Turn Back To Previous Page For Prize Information

of isolation. To rebuild his own economy, President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani needs investment and know-how only the West and the Arab gulf states can provide. The pariah wants to become a player. "Iran is the largest country in the region, and we have the longest coastline in the Persian Gulf," says Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati. "How can [the gulf states] ignore our position?" Teheran would surely oppose any Arab-Israeli peace effort that did not have broad Palestinian support. Iran wants foreign forces out of the

gulf and demands a central role in postwar security arrangements—but those aims are not necessarily as disruptive to U.S. objectives as they may seem.

Only Jordan and Yasir Arafat of the PLO, who backed Iraq, are left holding no I.O.U.s. Jordan's King Hussein may become useful again to the West and the Israelis as a go-between on the West Bank. "I have no personal animosity towards His Majesty the King," was the most President Bush would allow King Hussein last week. Bush clearly believes it's up to the

king to make up with the West, if he still wants Western aid and diplomatic support. Arafat has been counted out before and is still popular with his people. But he may have no future in a new Middle East where anti-Iraq, pro-U.S. rulers control most of the region's weapons, population and money—and where the most important question for years to come will be, "What did you do during the war?"

CHARLES LANE with MARGARET GARRARD WARNER and DOUGLAS WALLER in Washington, MELINDA LIU in Amman, JEFFREY BARTHOLET in Teheran and THEODORE STANGER in Jerusalem

No More 'Moral Victories'

Two days into the rout of Saddam Hussein's Army, a man with a Texas accent called a restaurant in Jordan to order 200 pizzas for American soldiers in Iraq. The manager hung up. The caller phoned back, claiming to represent a radio station looking for reaction to the American victory. Didn't the proprietor support U.S. troops? No, in Jordan most people supported Saddam. Well, the Americans were in Iraq, said the voice from Texas, and they might just go to Jordan and put the people there back on their camels. Fadi Ghandour, one of the restaurant's owners, slammed down the phone. It was humiliating to confront such gloating. A sense of despair nagged at Ghandour. "What scares me," he said afterward, "is it's just starting."

In the postwar era, the Arabs have endured successive cycles of humiliation and rage. Demagogues raise hopes of restoring past Muslim glory. These hopes then perish: in 1948 and 1967 they were crushed by Israel; now U.S.-led forces have done the job. The cherished myth of Arab unity has been shattered once again. In the wake of Iraq's defeat "there will not only be disappointment and sadness," says a Jordanian history professor. "It leads to anger and then to violence."

Modern communications and rising literacy magnify the emotions. After the defeat of the Arab armies in 1948, says one exiled Palestinian old

enough to remember, "people weren't really aware." The scope of the failure settled in gradually. Even today, many of Saddam's supporters are struggling to believe his claim of "victory." The Iraqi withdrawal was "a wise decision, a good military tactic," says a young Palestinian in Jordan's Baqaa refugee camp. But the spectacle of Iraq's troops surrendering by the tens of thousands is finally inescapable.

Arabs who believed in Saddam are searching for scapegoats not only among the Iraqi dictator's enemies but among his friends. "The Arab masses and governments failed Saddam," says a PLO activist. "People are upset because there was no real war," says a veteran politician in Morocco. Unlike his predecessors, Saddam had a record of carrying out his threats. This time he didn't. Still, "the people hate to put his image out of their hearts," said the politician.

Bitterness spread last week even among Arabs whose governments were on the winning side. Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak was a staunch supporter of Washington. But riots broke out in Cairo as Saddam's humiliation sank in. At least one student died amid stone-throwing and tear gas. Mubarak was denounced as a "coward" and an "American agent."

The Arab defeat in 1967, when Israel rolled over the armies of Egypt, Jordan and Syria in six days, had much



ESAIAS BAITEL—GAMMA-LIAISON

Palestinians bearing the Iraqi flag march on the West Bank

the same effect. Disillusionment set in throughout the region. Within three years the emotional aftermath of 1967 thrust Yasir Arafat into the leadership of the PLO, brought Muammar Kaddafi to power in Libya, opened the way for Hafez Assad to take over Syria and put Saddam Hussein in control of Iraq. Muslim fundamentalism, long disparaged by Arab intellectuals, gained ground among the masses.

Old grievances: This time the rationalization of defeat, the rhetoric of revolution, even the solace of religion may have less appeal. All have been tried before. None has delivered on its promises. Arabs who hunger for a place in the modern world are weary of old grievances. As one Jordanian entrepreneur put it, "If we recognize we've lost, we won't let guys like this

lead us into this sort of thing again. We have to quit living with these damn 'moral victories'." This may create an opening for the United States. "Americans will be hated for a long, long time," says a Lebanese filmmaker, "unless they surprise the hell out of us." President Bush just might. "This is not a time of euphoria, certainly not a time to gloat," he said last week. Many in the Middle East are looking desperately for redemption of their pride. Saddam exploited the issues of Palestine and the distribution of oil wealth for his own ends. He failed. But the issues remain. If the United States addresses them strongly and soon, it may yet win the hearts and minds of the Arabs as impressively as it won the war in Kuwait.

CHRISTOPHER DICKEY and SANA ISSA in Amman

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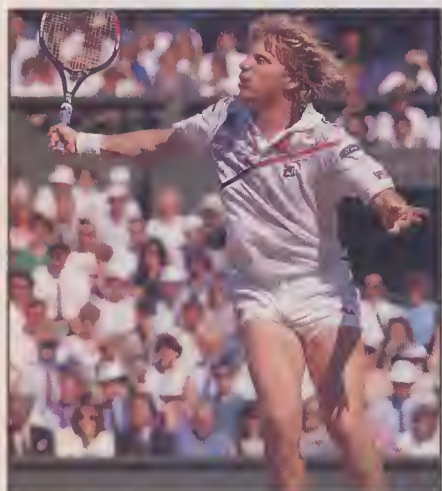
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Photos by Focus On Sports

There is simply nothing like it in the world. For eleven months of the year it covers the globe with 80 tournaments in 28 countries. Its worldwide following exceeds that of all other professional sports, except soccer. It is, of course, the IBM/ATP Tour.

Created in 1988, the ATP Tour joined the best players and top tournaments in men's tennis in a partnership that is unique in sport — a professional sports association owned and managed by the people who make the sport really happen. In 1990, IBM became the ATP Tour's worldwide sponsor. Together they have built the game of tennis in every corner of the globe. This year, fans will enjoy IBM/ATP Tour tournaments on six continents — following the bouncing ball from Brisbane to Barcelona, Moscow to Seoul, Tokyo, London, Athens, Rome, Paris, Hamburg, Los Angeles, and Washington. The international television audience will extend to 40 countries, as the IBM/ATP Tour reaches some 500 million fans!

Week to week, they'll see the best of tennis, the best of sport: Becker and Edberg, Chang and Agassi, Sampras, Lendl, McEnroe, Gilbert, Krickstein, Chesnokov and all the greats. And they'll thrill to the new stars who move suddenly out of tennis nowhere with stunning upsets. In 1989, after all, who had heard of Pete Sampras? And who will be the Pete Sampras of 1991?

One of the most exciting weeks on the IBM/ATP Tour will be spent in the desert at Indian Wells, California, from March 4 - 11. It's the Newsweek Champions Cup and it will see thirty of the

world's top forty tennis players vie for \$1 million in prize money in the newest tennis stadium in the United States — at the luxurious sports resort complex, the Hyatt Grand Champions.

Founded fifteen years ago and still run by former tennis great, Charlie Pasarell, the Newsweek Champions Cup is an American snapshot of the weekly, international excitement that *is* the IBM/ATP Tour. Eight of the top ten players on the IBM/ATP Computer Ratings will compete in singles and doubles and top collegiate and amateur players will vie for a wild card entry into the main draw. There's a Pro-Celebrity Tournament and a crowded social calendar highlighted by the International Tennis Hall of Fame Ball, hosted by comedian Alan King.

From the Newsweek Grand Champions, the IBM/ATP Tour moves to the Lipton International Players Championships at key Biscayne, FL. There, from March 15 - 24, 192 top men and women pros will go at it... providing great benefit to local charities. Fact is, the players and tournaments of the IBM/ATP Tour are dedicated to community service. And a number of charities worldwide are beneficiaries — since each of the 80 tournaments on the tour has an official charity for which it raises money and awareness. The Newsweek Champions Cup, for example will raise over \$200,000 for Tempo de los Ninos... while the Lipton annually raises a similar amount on behalf of among five South Florida charities.

So tune in to the IBM/ATP Tour... for the best in tennis, week after week.

TV TUNE-IN

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|--------------|--------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Prime Ticket | March 8 (Friday) | 7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m., Quarterfinals |
| | March 8 | 10:00 p.m. - 1:00 a.m., Quarterfinals |
| ESPN | March 9 (Saturday) | 2:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m., Semis |
| | March 11 (Monday) | 1:30 p.m. - 3:30 p.m., Finals |

The Lipton International will air:

| | | |
|------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|
| ESPN | March 16 (Saturday) | 2:00 p.m. - 4:00 p.m. |
| | March 17 | 1:00 p.m. - 3:30 p.m. |
| | March 18, 19, 20 | 1:00 p.m. - 4:00 p.m. |
| | March 21 | 1:00 p.m. - 2:30 p.m., Women's Semis |
| | March 22 | 1:00 p.m. - 3:00 p.m., Men's Semis |
| ABC | March 23 (Saturday) | 1:00 p.m. - 3:00 p.m., Women's Final |
| | March 24 (Sunday) | 4:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m., Men's Final |

All times are E.S.T. Consult your local listings for additional coverage of both tournaments in your area.

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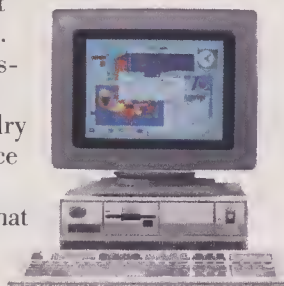
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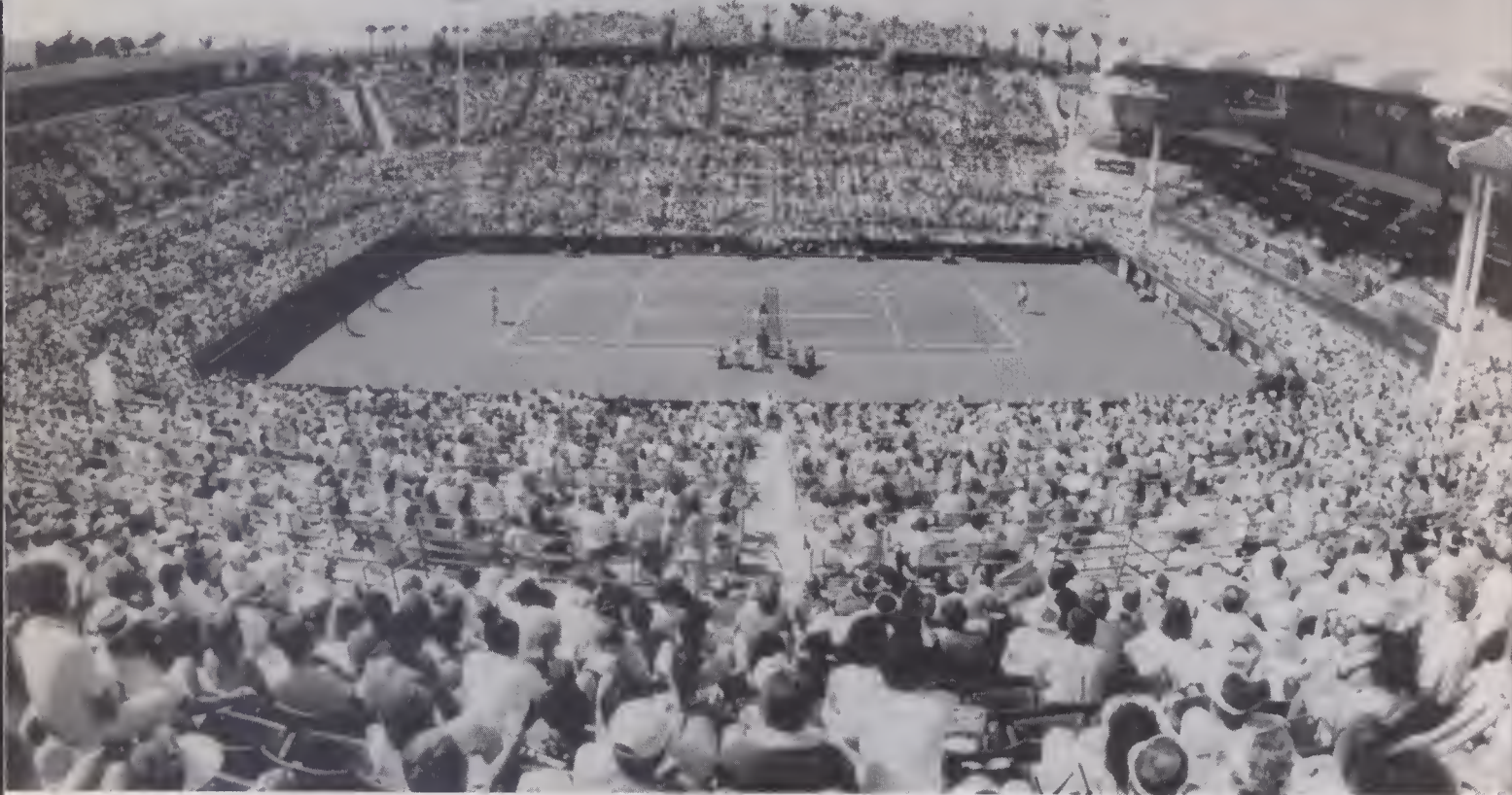
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America's Giant Step

Victory in the gulf has transformed the world's view of Washington

BY KENNETH AUCHINCLOSS

The New World Order certainly started with a bang. Even before its shape was very clear, it was given a victory celebration. The march on Kuwait turned into something akin to a Roman triumph, complete with a beaming general, rolling engines of war and lines of bedraggled prisoners. From the sidelines most of the world stood up and cheered the United States. In London and Tokyo, in Paris and Moscow,



BOB PEARSON—AFP

ambassador Edward Gnehm arrives to reopen the American Embassy in Kuwait

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Newsweek

since at least 1989: that there is only one superpower in the world and the United States is it. Given all the recent moans about America's economic troubles, the reminder couldn't have been more timely. General Schwarzkopf has not conquered the savings and loan crisis, but he has put it in a certain perspective.

Nevertheless, superpowers—even unchallenged superpowers—can't be expected to do this sort of thing very often. Anyone who thinks the gulf war is just the first in a

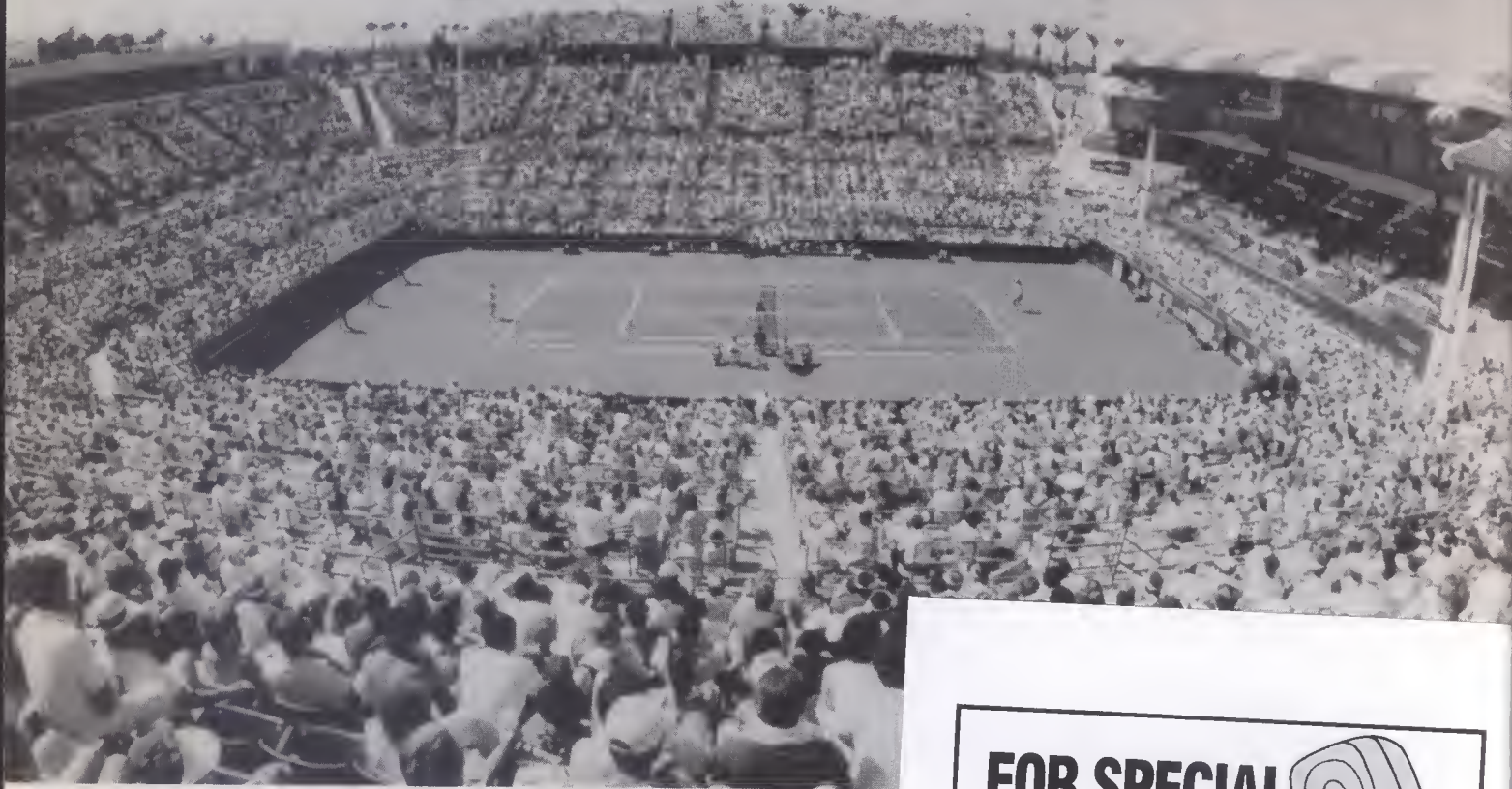
police actions by a resurgent United States had better turn off his television. Nothing, it does not detract a shred from the American accomplishment in the Gulf, but it does point out that the conditions for it were in many ways ideal: flat, featureless terrain nicely suited for air attacks and tank battles, a host country with lots of jet fuel and lots of empty real estate for half a million soldiers. Second, the defeat of Saddam Hussein occupied a goodly portion of the entire American military. No one will remain a world policeman very long if he has to keep making this sort of effort to bash the bad guys. And on the home front, no population would stand for it. So don't expect to see the 101st Airborne descending on the mountains of Kashmir to keep the Indians and the Pakistanis from each other's throats.

With luck, what can be expected is that future Saddams will find their appetite for adventure somewhat dulled. One reason

George Bush was so determined to punch this bully in the nose was to deter the other bullies in the schoolyard. "To some degree, the United States may need to intervene less than it has in the past, simply because its capacity and will have been so clearly demonstrated in this case," says Adam Roberts, professor of international relations at Balliol College, Oxford.

'Question mark': One thing the war did not demonstrate was the capacity and will of the Soviet Union. Its eleventh-hour peace initiative was not malicious; it was simply ineffectual. When Bush virtually ignored it, Gorbachev did not press the case with any vigor. As one Western diplomat in Moscow said, "The war has showed them yet again that they're just not a key player." When Gorbachev started talking about the New World Order, he envisioned an era of cooperation between the two superpowers in sorting out world affairs. Now the world has one real superpower and one former superpower so preoccupied with its internal difficulties that it casts very little shadow.

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America's Giant Step

Victory in the gulf has transformed the world's view of Washington

BY KENNETH AUCHINCLOSS

The New World Order certainly started with a bang. Even before its shape was very clear, it was given a victory celebration. The march on Kuwait turned into something akin to a Roman triumph, complete with a beaming general, rolling engines of war and lines of bedraggled prisoners. From the sidelines most of the world stood up and cheered the United States. In London and Tokyo, in Berlin and even Moscow, America was seen as a giant again—its military might beyond compare, its diplomacy sure-handed, its self-confidence restored. The U.S. victory was a dizzying spectacle, and the world could be forgiven a certain giddiness as it tried to sort through the implications with varying degrees of delight and apprehension.

The questions rolled onto the op-ed pages like so many battle tanks. What exactly was this New World Order? Could it be just a cloak for American hegemony? Fashionable notions like "American decline" were hastily cast aside, replaced by older phrases like "world policeman" and "pax Americana." Where, in the new scheme of things, did the Soviet Union fit—or Germany, or Japan, or the United Nations? Was military muscle, recently thought to be a bit passé, in fact what counted in the world, and economic power overrated?

The sober truth was that, however gratifying, this was not a major war and the coalition victory was not a decisive turning point in recent history. Yes, it was a brilliantly devised and executed campaign that should rapidly find its way into the military textbooks. And yes, it was an emphatic reminder of what almost everyone has known since at least 1989: that there is only one superpower in the world and the United States is it. Given all the recent moans about America's economic troubles, the reminder couldn't have been more timely. General Schwarzkopf has not conquered the savings and loan crisis, but he has put it in a certain perspective.

Nevertheless, superpowers—even unchallenged superpowers—can't be expected to do this sort of thing very often. Anyone who thinks the gulf war is just the first in a



BOB PEARSON—AFP

U.S. Ambassador Edward Gnehm arrives to reopen the American Embassy in Kuwait

series of police actions by a resurgent United States had better turn off his television set. For one thing, it does not detract a shred from the American accomplishment in the gulf to point out that the conditions for it

were in many ways ideal: flat, treeless terrain nicely suited for air attacks and tank battles, a host country with lots of jet fuel and lots of empty real estate for half a million soldiers. Second, the defeat of Saddam Hussein occupied a goodly portion of the entire American military. No one will remain a world policeman very

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**THE WAR
LOOKING
AHEAD**



JOHN FICARA—NEWSWEEK

As the guns fell silent, America and the world sensed a revival of the old glory

ow on the outside world. "I never believed the Soviet Union was able to be a pillar [of a New World Order]," says Helmut Sonnenfeldt, a former State Department official now at the Brookings Institution in Washington. "The Soviet Union today is a question mark, not a pillar, and you can't expect to rest much on this question mark."

Many Soviets have drawn the same conclusion. "Events of recent days have set a tombstone over the romantic dreams of cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. in establishing a 'new world order,'" wrote the liberal newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda* last week. "After the Persian Gulf, Moscow and Washington will never trust each other to the extent necessary for such cooperation." Col. Nikolai Petrushenko, one of the hard-line officers who denounced Eduard Shevardnadze for his accommodating foreign policy, was even more emphatic. "What new world order?" he demanded. "The 21st century will be a struggle for military dominance, pure and simple. The American imperialists are on the march, and we have to stop them." He did not say where they'd find the money.

A trifle premature: The war has also been something of a disaster for the world's two economic darlings, Japan and Germany. Even as the coalition forces marched into Kuwait City, the Japanese Diet was still debating the conditions under which it would contribute an additional \$9 billion (for a total of \$13 billion) to the war effort. All the talk of Japan putting on a world political hat to match the size of its pocket-book suddenly seems a trifle premature. "With the end of the cold war," former Defense minister Koichi Kato told *NEWSWEEK*, "people began to say that international financial power would replace

military capability, and that this would be the era for Japan and Germany. But that kind of transition has been postponed at least for the coming 10 to 15 years. Pax Americana, centered on the huge U.S. military capability, will continue for some time to come—whether for better or for worse we cannot yet judge."

The Germans, too, seem off in a world of their own. They are obsessed by the huge costs of rebuilding what used to be East Germany. They are bound to Moscow

in an awkward embrace by the huge Soviet Army still stationed in the east and by the investments German banks and businessmen are making in the U.S.S.R. Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher quickly endorsed Moscow's peace plan for Iraq and then declared last week that "the new world order can only come about if the Soviet Union plays an equal role in dealing with international issues"—a role that the Soviet Union seems in no position to perform. The German "special relationship" with the United States, an early product of reunification, was an early victim of the gulf crisis, as Britain and even France rushed forward to be helpful and Germany hung stalwartly back. In the months and years ahead, Washington's relations with both Bonn and

Tokyo could be embittered by "what did you do in the war?" overtones.

So the Soviet Union has turned in on itself, Japan and Germany have moved off to the side, and the New World Order, at least for the time being, seems to spring pretty much out of George Bush's Rolodex. Hegemony, however, is hardly the word for it. A lust for worldwide consultation is one of this president's passions. It was no accident that he moved swiftly to mobilize the United Nations in the gulf crisis, and no

surprise that the Security Council voted for war powers before the U.S. Congress did. The United Nations came out of this episode with a justifiable burst of pride. But it did not command the armies that got the hard job done.

The world has been transformed in the last few years, but as historian Stephen Ambrose points out, the United States has often seemed a bystander. Gorbachev began a new Soviet revolution, the people of East Europe won their freedom, Germany put itself back together again. Now, with its success in the gulf, America has left the audience and once more come onstage as the star performer. And that, perhaps, is the war's chief significance. It has not greatly changed the world, but it has changed the way the world looks at America.

With DANIEL PEDERSEN in London, CARROLL BOGERT in Moscow, BRADLEY MARTIN in Tokyo, MICHAEL MEYER in Bonn and JANE WHITMORE in Washington

OPINION WATCH

A Nation's Global Role

How much confidence do you have in the ability of the United States to deal wisely with present world problems?

| | Current | 5/85 |
|--------------|---------|------|
| Very great | 39% | 19% |
| Considerable | 49% | 49% |
| Little | 6% | 19% |
| Very little | 5% | 12% |

Does success in the Persian Gulf War make you feel the U.S. should be more willing to use military force in the future to help solve international problems?

32% Yes 60% No

From the *NEWSWEEK* Poll of March 1, 1991

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The Heroes Remembered

Not long before he died, U.S. Army Sgt. Ronald Randazzo wrote a letter to a friend. "I'm not really that afraid anymore," he said. "I'm worried about the people under me. They're all young and really scared." Randazzo himself was only 24. One of the harshest facts of war is the toll it takes on a nation's youth—and the shy, serious, eager faces here show that the gulf war was no different. The latest casualty lists are relatively short: at the weekend, the Pentagon recorded 90 Americans killed in action, 34 missing, 9 prisoners of war and an additional 63 noncombat deaths. Many of the war dead are remembered on the following pages. The low casualty count came as a relief to many Americans who had fearfully anticipated a chemical attack or a long, grinding ground war. But a seasoned warrior took little comfort. "I would tell you that casualties of that order of magnitude [are] almost miraculous," said Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf last week. "[But] it will never be miraculous for the families of those people."



RONALD RANDAZZO, 24
Sergeant
U.S. Army
Glen Burnie, Md.
Once Randazzo's hitch with the Reserves was up, he planned to study law enforcement. He died after his tank was hit by Iraqi artillery fire.



ADRIENNE MITCHELL, 20
Private
U.S. Army
Moreno Valley, Calif.
"I did 30 years [and] didn't get a scratch," said Mitchell's father, a retired Air Force master sergeant. "My daughter's been in for five months, and she's dead."



JIMMY DEWAYNE HAWS, 28
Sergeant
U.S. Army
Traver, Calif.
Killed on a reconnaissance mission, Haws was the first Army death by enemy fire. Last summer, Haws, who is divorced, became engaged to a teacher he met while stationed in Texas.



PHILLIP JONES, 21
Corporal
U.S. Marines
East Point, Ga.
The father of three small children was one of the first Americans to be killed in the ground war; he died handling one of his own artillery shells.



FRANK WALLS, 20
Specialist
U.S. Army
Hawthorn, Pa.
In high school, he lettered in football and track; the engineering student at Indiana University of Pennsylvania was a volunteer fireman and served as an usher and Scripture reader in his church.



BEVERLY CLARK, 23
Specialist
U.S. Army
East Wheatfield Township, Pa.
Clark worked as a secretary before being called up for duty. "She always believed that anything was possible and would try anything," her family said in a statement.



DAVID SNYDER, 21
Lance Corporal
U.S. Marines
Kenmore, N.Y.
Snyder, who was with the First Light Armored Infantry Battalion, was killed on a patrol mission almost three weeks before the ground war started.



RICHARD WOLVERTON, 24
Specialist
U.S. Army
Derry, Pa.
Wolverton had already served four years in the Army before joining the Reserves, and worked selling parts for big trucks. He got married only last June.



STEVEN FARNEN, 22
Specialist
U.S. Army
Columbia, Mo.
"I think we all had a premonition that something was going to go wrong," said Farnen's father, Hugh, last week. His son died in the Scud attack on the barracks in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia.



ISMAEL COTTO, 27
Corporal
U.S. Marines
Bronx, N.Y.
Known to his friends as "Sunshine Man," the Puerto Rican-born Cotto hoped his military career would give him a way out of the poverty of the south Bronx.



FRANK ALLEN, 22
Lance Corporal
U.S. Marines
Waianae, Hawaii
His last letter home was somber. "He was contemplating his own existence," says his father. "But he really felt that he would survive with the help of his fellow Marines."



JOSEPH P. BONGIORNO III, 20
Specialist
U.S. Army
Hickory, Pa.
An engineering sophomore at West Virginia University, he first joined the Army Reserves in high school, where he played football. He was considering a career in the military.



PAUL R. EICHENLAUB, 29
Captain
U.S. Air Force
Bentonville, Ark.
Though he had a degree in data processing, Eichenlaub loved being a pilot. "He always said he would pay the Air Force to fly, if he had to," said his widow, Patricia, last week.



MICHAEL LINDERMAN JR., 19
Lance Corporal
U.S. Marines
Roseburg, Ore.
Linderman joined the Marines soon after high-school graduation. He got married following boot camp. The corporal was killed by friendly fire near Khafji.



MELFORD COLLINS, 34
Specialist
U.S. Army
Uhland, Texas
Collins had already served a hitch in the Army, but he rejoined when he couldn't find steady work as a carpenter. His last tape-recorded letter spoke of his love for his wife and two children.



AARON PACK, 22
Sergeant
U.S. Marines
Phoenix, Ariz.
If I "get zapped here," Pack wrote his father, "I am going to be thinking that I got killed for those little [Kuwaiti] kids that can't do anything for themselves, instead of for oil."



DION STEPHENSON, 22
Lance Corporal
U.S. Marines
Bountiful, Utah
While in the gulf, Stephenson became pen pal to a fifth-grade class in New York. After he died, the class created a memorial bulletin board. His brother, also a Marine, escorted his body home.



SCOTT SCHROEDER, 20
Private
U.S. Marines
Wauwatosa, Wis.
Another Desert Storm pen pal, Schroeder corresponded with second graders in his hometown—and advised them to go easy on their teacher.



CHRISTINE MAYES, 22
Specialist
U.S. Army
Rochester Mills, Pa.
A part-time college student, Mayes became engaged to David Fairbanks days before shipping out. But she left her engagement ring behind, fearing she'd lose it.



JEFF MIDDLETON, 23
Corporal
U.S. Army
Oxford, Kans.
Middleton, who planned a military career, was one of two soldiers killed by friendly fire from a U.S. Apache helicopter. His wife learned of his death on their second wedding anniversary.



JOSEPH LUMPKINS, 22
Lance Corporal
U.S. Marines
New Richmond, Ohio
A friendly-fire casualty, Lumpkins died when his armored transport was hit by U.S. artillery fire.



PATRICK OLSON, 26
First Lieutenant
U.S. Air Force
Washington, N.C.
A graduate of the U.S. Air Force Academy, Olson was on a reconnaissance mission over Kuwait when his plane was shot down by groundfire.



ROBERT TALLEY, 18
Private
U.S. Army
Newark, N.J.
Talley was killed in action by friendly fire. His family is bitter about his death: "Not one drop of oil is worth the blood my grandson shed," says grandmother Lou Anne Monroe.



DANIEL WALKER, 20
Lance Corporal
U.S. Marines
Whitehouse, Texas
A casualty of the first sustained ground battle, Walker was the third generation of his family to fight in a war: "But he set the precedent of not coming home," says his father.



JOHN BOLIVER, 27
Specialist
U.S. Army
Monongahela, Pa.
Boliver worked in maintenance at Baptist Homes in Mt. Lebanon, Pa., where he met his wife, an aide. The couple had two children; before he shipped off, the family celebrated their daughter's first birthday.



STEPHEN BENTZLIN, 23
Lance Corporal
U.S. Marines
Wood Lake, Minn.
Bentzlin switched from the Army to the Marines because he liked the tougher regimen. Part Sioux, his tribal name was "Came from the Stars."



GLEN JONES, 21
Specialist
U.S. Army
Grand Rapids, Minn.
After she got word that her son was dead, Rosalie Jones stepped out of her house, next to the Old Soldiers Cemetery, and lowered the family's American flag to half-mast.



FRANK KEOUGH, 22
Specialist
U.S. Army
North Huntingdon, Pa.
Following his four-year stint in the regular Army, he enlisted in the Reserves last spring to get money for community-college financial aid.



A. BRADLEY COOPER, 23
Private First Class
U.S. Army
Seattle, Wash.
An avid athlete, Cooper tried out for the Olympic team in curling, a Scottish ice sport. He planned to become a physical therapist after his discharge, scheduled for May.



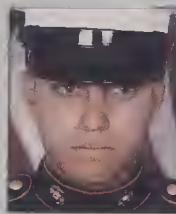
THOMAS JENKINS, 20
Lance Corporal
U.S. Marines
Coulterville, Calif.
Jenkins, whose forebears came to the mother-lode town of Coulterville during the Gold Rush of the 1850s, planned to become a police officer.



ANTHONY MADISON, 27
Specialist
U.S. Army
Monessen, Pa.
Madison had been studying at a vocational school. Killed in the Scud attack on the Dhahran barracks, he leaves his wife, Leann, with a young son and daughter.



RONNIE RENNISON, 21
Specialist
U.S. Army
Dubuque, Iowa
Rennison had just gotten a new job at a local meatpacking house when he was called up. Both he and his father, a civilian employee of the U.S. government, were stationed in the Persian Gulf.



GARETT MONGRELLA, 25
Sergeant
U.S. Marines
Belvidere, N.J.
Mongrella was a stocky man with a contagious grin. His father was a schoolteacher, but Mongrella, an average student, left college after a short stay to join the Marines.



MICHAEL DANIELS, 20
Specialist
U.S. Army
Leavenworth, Kans.
The son of a master sergeant, Daniels kidded his father that he would have to salute his son someday—once the young man attained a high enough rank.



JONATHAN WILLIAMS, 23
Corporal
U.S. Army
Portsmouth, Va.
His parents were divorced, and Williams spent summers with his father in Oakland, Calif. He planned to return to Old Dominion College in Norfolk, Va., after his gulf duty.



THOMAS STONE, 20
Private
U.S. Army
Falconer, N.Y.
A victim of the Dhahran Scud attack, Stone was assigned to a water-purification unit. He volunteered for gulf duty a week before he was killed, leaving behind a wife and baby daughter.



TIMOTHY SHAW, 21
Private First Class
U.S. Army
Alexandria, Va.
Before he shipped out, Shaw was working his way through community college. "It's no consolation to know that out of the 500,000 soldiers over there, not that many got killed," said a close friend.



MARK MILLER, 20
Private First Class
U.S. Army
Cannelton, Ind.
An Army mechanic, Miller died when the maintenance truck he was driving took a direct hit of hostile fire. His father said that Mark believed "if he got killed in action, it would be an honorable way to go."



RUSSELL SMITH JR., 44
Sergeant
U.S. Army
Fall River, Mass.
The 17-year Army veteran was the father of four girls. Smith's mother said that in his letters home he always wrote, "Don't worry about me. I'll be home."

Others Killed in Action

ELISEO FELIX, 19
STEVEN ATHERTON, 25
HAL REICHLER, 27
AARON HOWARD, 20
WILLIAM PALMER, 23
CHRIS STEPHENS, 28
JERRY LEON KING, 20
KENNETH PERRY, 23
ROBERT DWYER, 32
JOHN BOXLER, 44

ALAN CRAVER, 32
BRIAN SCOTT, 22
DOUGLAS BRADY, 29
JAMES TATUM, 21
BRIAN LANE, 20
STANLEY BARTUSIAK, 34
CHRISTIAN PORTER, 20
DUANE HOLLEN JR., 24
ANDREW MOLLER, 23
LUIS DELGADO, 30
MICHAEL HARRIS JR., 26

Non-Battle Deaths

BALDWIN SATCHELL, 31
RAMON POOLE, 21
MICHAEL NOLINE, 20
MICHAEL CONNER SR., 32
JAMES CROCKFORD, 30
IRA FOREMAN, 30
ADAM HOAGE, 19
DALE PAULSON, 36
DAVID TAPLEY, 39
JORGE ARTEAGA, 26
JAMES SYLVIA, 23
ELOY RODRIGUEZ JR., 34
HENRY SANDERS, 42
CHARLES WALKER, 19
MICHAEL ANDERSON, 36
JEFFREY REEL, 21
CHARLES COOPER, 33
GARY CRASK, 21
DALE CORMIER, 30
PATRICK HURLEY, 37
JAMES THORP, 30
BERNARD (SEAN) WINKLEY, 27
GARLAND HAILEY, 37
THOMAS HAGGERTY, 26
KURTIS BENZ, 22
DAVID SHAW, 33
SCOTT RUSH, 19
LAWRENCE WELCH, 41

SCOTT BIANCO, 21
RICHARD LEE, 36
WADE HECTOR, 22
TODD RITCH, 20
LEONARD RUSS, 26
ADRIAN HART, 28
DAVID AMES, 30
EUGENE MCCARTHY, 35
MANUEL RIVERA JR., 31
PETER SWANO JR., 20
KENNETH JACKSON, 22
BOBBY MCKNIGHT, 52
BOBBY WARE, 21
JEFFREY OLSON, 27
JONATHAN EDWARDS, 34
MICHAEL COOKE, 22
JOHN GILLESPIE, 34
MARIO VEGA VELAZQUEZ, 35
ARTHUR GARZA, 20
ALBERT HADDAD JR., 22
DAVID HERR JR., 28
JEFFREY ROLLINS, 23
ERIC HEDEEN, 27
REUBEN KIRK III, 19
MICHAEL ALLEN, 32
DANIEL GRAYBEAL, 25
MICHAEL ROBSON, 30
STEVEN TRAUTMAN, 21



MARIO FAJARDO, 29
Captain
U.S. Army
Flushing, N.Y.
Ecuadoran-born Fajardo came to the U.S. at age 12. The Citadel graduate died leading his 100-man unit through a minefield. "We miss him a lot," said half brother Luis Santiago, "but he was doing his job."



STEPHEN SIKO, 25
Specialist
U.S. Army
Latrobe, Pa.
The father of 5-year-old Stephen Jacob, Siko worked as a supervisor for a foam manufacturer in Derry, Pa. He was another victim of last week's Scud hit in Dhahran.



MICHAEL MILLS, 23
Specialist
U.S. Army
Panora, Iowa
Mills just completed a six-year hitch in the regular Army before being called back on Reserve duty. His son, Matthew, will be 2 in April, the same month that wife Pamela will give birth to their second child.



JAMES WORTHY, 22
Specialist
U.S. Army
Albany, Ga.
An honor student in high school, Worthy joined the Army right after graduation in 1987. He had been in Saudi Arabia only a week when he was killed; he was planning to be married next November.



TERRY PLUNK, 25
First Lieutenant
U.S. Army
Vinton, Va.
In 1988, as a senior at the Virginia Military Institute, Plunk won best-all-around-cadet award. Assigned to an engineering battalion, he was killed last week on a mine-clearing mission near an airport in Kuwait.



TROY GREGORY, 21
Lance Corporal
U.S. Marines
Richmond, Va.
Gregory, who graduated from a military high school in his home state, died last week of wounds he received earlier from a land mine.



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A Land Fit for Heroes?



Desert Storm was a didactic war, waged to teach new rules for the game of nations

In 43 remarkable days America's military displayed a proficiency that was produced not merely by months of planning, but by 93 years of hard apprenticeship. America has had a lot of practice at war-making and practice makes, if not perfect, close enough.

America has now fought its sixth significant war since the battleship Maine blew up (by accident, it now seems) in Havana harbor in 1898. The war with Spain and two world wars and Korea and Vietnam and the Gulf War are only America's largest combat experiences since the explosion in the Maine. That explosion showered sparks on the dry tinder of American nationalism and detonated the "splendid little war" that made a president of the Rough Rider of San Juan Hill. One of George Bush's first gestures as president was to put TR's portrait in the Cabinet Room, in the place where Bush's predecessor had put a portrait of Coolidge. Coolidge said the business of America is business. TR had a more strenuous agenda.

Victory over Spain led to 14 years of counterinsurgency combat in the Philippines. There was intervention in China during the Boxer Rebellion, and Black Jack Pershing's Mexican Expedition. In just the last 10 years American force has been used in Lebanon, Libya, Grenada, Panama. Some Americans have been involved in combat in about half of the 93 years since the Maine's keel settled into Cuba's mud.

It is not invidious to describe Desert Storm as an optional war. So was Korea. America was not attacked by Iraq and was not committed by treaty to the defense of Kuwait, which has never been defined as a vital American interest. Korea was a war of post-Munich deterrence, an attempt to discourage future aggression by being prompt and early with collective security. Desert Storm was similar, but was more. It was America's first post-1989 act, its first act as the world's only superpower. (One month into the crisis President Bush flew to Finland for a five-hour luncheon summit to stroke Gorbachev. In the last weeks of the crisis America's dismissive response to Gorbachev's mischievous diplomacy proved that the Soviet Union often can be as irrelevant as America wants it to be.) Desert Storm was a didactic war, waged to instruct potential aggressors in new rules for the game of nations.

If the teaching takes, the new world may be so orderly that America can allow its well-oiled combat arms to become rusty. If not, Americans, who have not been so happy since V-J Day (Aug. 15, 1945), probably will be willing, even eager, to lead other coalitions into combat. If so, one reason will be that a generation of younger Americans has been taught a quite false lesson by Desert Storm: that wars usually

work out this way, short and one-sided and telegenic.

Another reason Americans are so happy, and so ready to do more great works abroad, is that things, especially things done by government, have not been working so well at home. Americans have found domestic problems intractable and foreign commercial competition daunting. The production of many things—cars, engineers, high SAT scores, low budget deficits, livable cities—has faltered. (During the 43 days of Desert Storm, violence in America killed many times more Americans than war did.) Americans are delighted to find a few things that work—weapons, the military generally. In recent years it has become a sardonic jest to say of something not done right, "Well, it's close enough for government work." But the armed forces are government work.

Dreadful decade: In one dreadful decade, 1965-74, government's stature was radically reduced. Great Society initiatives coincided with extreme disorders among the intended beneficiaries of the initiatives. This stimulated skepticism about government's competence. Then Vietnam and Watergate spread cynicism about government's motives. Since then the American left has been caught in a contradiction, and conservatives have been producing a paradox.


The left wants strong government to engineer social change. But the left's critical stance defeats its political program: by defining America as greedy, corrupt, racist, etc., the left undermines the consensus that is required for strong collective action. Furthermore, because of its hostility toward the military, the left has forfeited the fundamental game of American politics—capture the flag. The party that identifies with American nationalism wins.

For conservatives, today's military success compounds a paradox. Ronald Reagan climbed to the pinnacle of government by teaching distrust of government. But by putting a smiling face on government, and by curbing inflation (government's damage to the currency as a store of value), and by making the military conspicuous, competent and usable, he did much to rehabilitate government's reputation. Reagan's successor, by his deft diplomacy and his selection of superb colleagues, has consolidated the conservative party's position as the party of executive government.

For 40 years most conservatives have had a bifurcated vision of government: It should be bold abroad but tentative at home. Conservatives believe government is a blunt instrument, not a precision tool—a hammer, not a scalpel. It is good at big, broad strokes—digging a canal across an isthmus, waging war—but clumsy at intervening in the organic processes of a complex society such as ours.

This principle, distilled from many historical judgments, is broadly right but not sufficient. Government is not irrelevant to or impotent against the biggest threats to American pre-eminence, which are here at home. They are inadequate schools, scandalous numbers of children in poverty (one in five), public choices that produce spending wildly in excess of revenues, and private choices that produce a destructive ratio of consumption to savings and investment. If America's government is not smart enough to contribute to the correction of such strength-sapping defects, then America has a long-term problem of progressive anemia from which no weapons, however smart, can protect it.

Today George Bush stands at the sort of pinnacle few presidents have experienced. He has earned the nation's trust and, almost as important, he has the nation's attention. This is a perishable moment, and a propitious moment to say: As we welcome home the heroes from their sacrifices, let us make some symmetrical sacrifices to make this a land fit for heroes. The business of America is not business. Neither is it war. The business of America is justice, and securing the blessings of liberty.



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